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UN CONCEPT IDENTITAIRE ET NÉCESSAIRE: LA ROUMANITÉ

RĂZVAN THEODORESCU

L'Académie Roumaine fête en 2016 un siécle et demi d'existence. Le principal objet d'étude de cette compagnie savante fut justement l'histoire, la langue, les coutumes, les croyances des „Latins d'Orient", de ce que j'appelle „la roumanité". A ce moment préstigieux sont dediées les pages suivantes.

Il y a soixante ans (1955), dans un pays de grande tradition intellectuelle et politique[1] qui n'oubliait pas sa place sur l'echiquier mondial, un célèbre historien de l'art et de l'architecture, l'anglo-allemand Nikolaus Pevsner écrivait un livre intitulé *The Englishness of English Art* (L'anglicité de l'art anglais). Sans appréhension face aux possibles critiques formulées par l'aggressive médiocre érudition, le réputé auteur – un étranger venu dans l'espace de l'Albion – a mis en lumière tout ce que fut permanence stylistique, propension formelle, esprit de l'époque dans chaque moment notoire de l'art insulaire depuis le gothique perpendiculaire jusqu'à Hogarth, depuis Reynolds jusqu'aux jardins romantiques. Le livre et sa thèse ont convaincu. Serait-il excessif de parler un jour, en termes pondérés, epurés d'inutiles complexes, fondés à chaque pas sur l'observation historique, ethnographique, stylistique, de la „roumanité" (*românitatea*) de l'art, de la culture roumaine?

Si on garde en mémoire tout ce qu'on a forgé dans la culture roumaine de la première moitié du siècle passé, du point de vue conceptuel, toujours au niveau d'une supérieure approche d'essaystes cherchant l'esprit, le spécifique, „l'âme nationale" due aux écrivains et philosophes, aux psychologues et artistes, aux esthéticiens et historiens, aux archéologues et critiques, d'Ibrăileanu et de Eugen Lovinescu à Lucian Blaga, de Dumitru Drăghicescu à Mihail Ralea et Şirato, de Vasile Pârvan et de George Călinescu à Mircea Vulcănescu, de Camil Petrescu et de Mircea Eliade à Dan Botta et Constantin Noica, la réponse n'est pas fort

[1] Ces réfléxions se trouve dans mon texte *Sobra armonie* dans *Drumuri către ieri*, Bucureşti, 1992, p. 194.

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difficile, ni dépourvue d'une aura de l'authentique, passionée réfléxion en marge du phénomène de culture, d'art roumain. J'ouvre une brève paranthèse. Consultant les dictionnaires on voit que le terme „românitate" (roumanité), indiquant le caractère roumain, la descendance roumaine d'un certain phénomène de civilisation est moins employé[2], lorsqu'il n'est pas considéré comme désuet et rare[3]. Sans vouloir polémiquer avec les collégues linguistes je dirai que, selon moi, le terme de „românitate" (roumanité), avec un suffixe emprunté aux substantifs d'origine romane, contient une organicité flexible qui manque au terme plus usité de „românism" („roumanisme") considéré comme désignant le sentiment national des Roumains[4] – avec une nuance militante qui pourrait lui diminuer la crédibilité (lorsque, par exemple, l'on parle de la „croissade du roumanisme" de la Garde de Fer).

Retournant au livre de Pevsner je vais mentionner une de ses observations: „The history of styles as well as the cultural geography of nations can only be successful... if it is conducted in terms of polarities"[5]. Dans ce sens justement je notais jadis la circonstance que dans notre culture une polarité au moins existe et elle consiste dans l'enchevêtrement d'une fruste spontanéité des temps archaïque avec l'harmonie, l'équilibre et le calme de l'esprit classique[6]: la première unit les blocs en pierre des forteresses des Daces érigées dans les Monts Orăştie avec les poutres massives des maisons et des églises en bois de Maramureş et de Gorj, la *Sagesse de la terre* de Brâncuşi avec les sculptures d'un Vida Gheza et d'un Apostu; la deuxième va de l'équilibre des sanctuaires de Voroneţ et de Pătrăuţi au recueillement des fondations knéziales de Haţeg, de l'harmonie des fresques extérieures d'Arbore, de Moldoviţa et de Sucevita à l'élégance des toiles d'un Pallady.

Si la place de notre civilisation se trouve dans une Europe de Sud-Est qui appartient à l'Orient du continent[7], donc à une des deux Europes complémentaires qui, je l'espère, anéantit l'illusion d'une Europe unique à l'aspect d'une caserne[8], elle se trouve aussi dans un espace euro-méditerranéen – lui-même complémentaire à celui euroatlantique – sensiblement différent au point de vue économique, social, psychologique et culturel qui le relie aux racines historiques même du continent.

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[2] On le trouve dans *Noul dicţionar universal al limbii române*, Bucureşti-Chişinău, 2006, p. 1236 envoyant à un texte d'Ibrăileanu.

[3] *Dicţionarul limbii române*, XIII, Bucureşti, 2010, p. 537 envoyant à un texte de B.P. Hasdeu.

[4] *Ibidem*, le „românism" („roumanisme") considéré par Constantin Rădulescu-Motru d'être „un nouveau nationalisme", exprimant une conscience communautaire (cf. *Sufletul neamului nostru. Calităţi bune şi defecte*, Bucureşti, 1910, p. 99; idem *Catehismul unei noi spiritualităţi*, II-e éd., Bucureşti, 1939; idem, *Etnicul românesc. Comunitate de origine, limbă şi destin*, Bucureşti, 1942), fut l'objet d'une polémique avec Nichifor Crainic (*Ortodoxie şi etnocraţie*, Bucureşti, 1937, p. 112 et suiv.), qui reprochait au philosophe d'avoir exclu du „roumanisme" l'orthodoxisme, identifié par Crainic comme l'essentiel d'un „état ethnocratique" (cf. ibidem, p. 130 et suiv., p. 278 et suiv.).

[5] *The Englishness of English Art*, Londres, 1955, p. 18.

[6] R. Theodorescu, *Arhaitate şi clasicitate*, dans *Drumuri...*, p. 185-189.

[7] Idem, *Roumains et Balkaniques dans la civilisation sud-est européenne*, Bucarest, 1999.

[8] Idem, *Cele două Europe*, Bucureşti, 2013, p. 10.

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Un trait de cette roumanité reste l'ouverture vers tous les horizons géographiques et culturels. J'ai écrit ailleurs sur une Roumanie „Europe en miniature", seul endroit où – après la disparition de la Yougoslavie – on peut rencontrer presque toutes les formes de reliefs, toutes les confessions et toutes les religions du même continent, tous les styles d'art et d'architecture, depuis les monuments gréco-romains jusqu'aux édifices „art nouveau" et cubistes; on retrouve cette diversité jusqu'au niveau fondamental de la langue que, dans un texte souvent cité, nous évoque le croniqueur Grigore Ureche („Notre langue aussi est composée de plusieurs langues et avec leurs paroles les notres sont mêlées, bien que nous descendons de Rome"[9]), l'ancien élève des Jésuites de Pologne rappelant les vocables latins et „franques", grecs et polonais, turcs et serbes. Cette diversité originaire est aussi, probablement, l'explication d'une particularité qu'on doit toujours mentionner, à savoir l'appartenance, trés rare d'ailleurs, de certaines personnalités d'origine roumaine à plusieurs cultures, depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à l'avangarde, de Nicolas Olahus et de Pierre Movilă à Nicolas Milescu et Demétre Cantemir, de Tristan Tzara à Marcel Iancu et Eugène Ionesco.

J'écrivais dans l'introduction du troisiéme volume du traité académique de l'*Histoire des* Roumains[10] que deux sont les éléments spécifiques des „Romans de l'Orient": la latinité et la préservation de l'Etat. Au long des années j'ai étudié les expressions culturelles de la seule orthodoxie latine et de la seule latinité orthodoxe du monde, l'absence de l'ostentation dans le cas de nos premiers monuments chrétiens du Moyen Age, à Curtea de Argeş et à Rădăuţi, sans les dimensions énormes et sans la richesse des matériaux mis en oeuvre pour les anciens nomades et les anciens païens fraîchement convertis, à Pliska et à Preslav, à Kiev et à Novgorod, à Szekesfehérvár et à Studenica, de même que la clarté des formes architecturales et l'harmonie chromatique dans l'art populaire et cultivé à la fois, ou bien l'attachement total sans nuance métaphysique, pour la réalité immediate. De même, à propos de la préservation roumaine de l'Etat gardé tout au long de l'âge de la Turcocratie, je me suis penché sur la „mentalité transactionelle" où l'on trouve le génie de la négociation, l'art de la dissimulation, la prudence politique – allant des conseils du prince Etienne le Grand pour son successeur à la tergiversation quant aux alliances d'un autre prince fameux, Constantin Brâncoveanu –, le paternalisme récurant dans la formule même du leader messianique, le fatalisme d'origine byzantine, l'ingeniosité de certaines solutions – politiques, de nouveau – au carrefour des Empires (la plus notables, à cet égard, reste la double élection princière du colonel Cuza en janvier 1859).

L'individualisme de nuance latine, comme composante de la roumanité „qui n'aime pas la compagnie"[11] aurait ses origines dans les profondeurs du moyen âge

[9] *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei*, II-e éd. (éd. P.P. Panaitescu), 1958, p. 67.
[10] Bucureşti, 2001, p. IX.
[11] C. Rădulescu-Motru, *Psihologia poporului român*, Bucarest, 1937, p. 11.

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tel que nous montre un épisode du siècle de la fondation des États[12]: on apprend qu'autour de 1370, dans le régne valaque de Vladislav I-er, lorsque le Serbe Nicodéme fondait les premiers monastéres connus au nord du Danube, Vodiţa et Tismana, quelques moines roumains arrivés au monastére athonite Koutloumous retournaient chez eux refusant la vie communautaire, cénobitique des „Romaïoi" – en fait les Grecs et les Slaves (Bulgares, Russes, Serbes) de la Sainte Montagne –, ces „Ougrovlahoi" préférant la vie idiorhytmique, isolés, retirés dans les grandes forêts, en marge des clairières, menant une vie sobre et réflèxive, robuste et paysanne.

Les investigations d'ethnopsychologie, analysant à la fois le fond biologique, le milieu géographique et le passé historique d'un peuple réalisées chez nous par l'oublié Dumitru Drăghicescu en 1907 et par Constantin Rădulescu-Motru trente ans plus tard – lié à la tradition d'un Maiorescu et ayant des éléves comme Nae Ionescu et Mircea Eliade – ont scruté aussi notre orthodoxie latine, partie de la roumanité, que j'ai étudié moi même en essayant de lui fixer la place au centre du monde roumain[13]. C'etait un monde de l'équilibre et de la tolérance, cartésien avant la lettre, plaisantant avec les saints et s'amusant avec simplicité des actions de Satan dans les textes folkloriques et les peintures populaires avec tant de „Jugements Derniers", dans un laxisme de la discipline des croyants dans l'édifice religieux condamné par l'âpre Caucasien, le métropolite Anthème („nous parlons et nous nous amusons et lançons des oeillades... pire que dans les tavernes")[14]; un monde sans adhérence aux enthousiasmes mystiques et aux déchirements hérétiques des milieux slaves voisins, pendulant entre le sacré et le profane, entre, d'une part, la majesté recueillie du sanctuaire orné de fresques ou l'exiguïté de l'espace fermé de la maison paysanne descendant du mégaron préhistorique, et d'autre part, la pénombre du porche d'église ou de maison ouvert vers une nature qui s'insinue dans la vie quotidienne du Roumain. Et à cette occasion je continuais ma réflexion[15]: située dans l'espace d'une tradition orthodoxe césaropapiste, absolutiste parfois, dans celui d'une ruralité économique et sociale avec son corollaire, à savoir la mentalité nobiliaire, la civilisation roumaine a fréquemment connu, à l'époque ancienne et au seuil de la première modernité[16] des attitudes d'une autorité compensant maintes fois faiblesses politiques et crises morales (le cas phanariote est notoire), attitudes reprises avec plus ou moins de succès, avec plus ou moins de dextérité culturelle, dans ce que fut – et continue à être – un culte du leader (je préfère ce syntagme à celui usé et faux de „culte de la personnalité", s'agissant souvent, pour citer une trouvaille de Şerban Cioculescu, parait-il, d'une

[12] *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, I, Bucarest, 1966, p. 503-505, cf. R. Theodorescu, *Bizanţ, Balcani, Occident la începuturile culturii medieval româneşti (secolele X-XIV)*, Bucureşti, 1974, p. 226-227.

[13] *Repere de mentalitate românească*, dans *Picătura de istorie*, Bucureşti, 1999, p. 162.

[14] *Didahii*, Bucureşti, éd. Minerva, 1982, p. 25.

[15] R. Theodorescu, *Repere...*, p. 163-164.

[16] Idem, *Despre prima modernitate a românilor*, Bucureşti, 2001.

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„personulité"). Telles attitudes monarchiques illustrés par des consciences dynastiques, par leurs proclamations à travers des architectures funéraires et des iconographies peintes, par des chroniques de famille et des inscriptions dédicatoires, conduisent la recherche vers le deuxiéme élément caractéristique de la roumanité, à savoir la présérvation de l'Etat qui a fait possible la réalité de la „domnie" (du régne). Ici on doit tenir compte des résultats des études récentes de turcologie de chez nous. Celles-ci ont clairement montré que le moment de résistance roumaine face à l'offensive ottomane, entre la fin du XIV-e siècle et la première moitié du XVI-e, fut suivi par une deuxième étape dans l'existence des Roumains dans le système de la Turcocratie: il s'agit de la domination indirecte, en fait d'une autonomie après la deuxième moitié du XVI-e siécle[17], déterminée par des raisons économiques bien connues, dans les conditions européennes où tribut à la Sublime Porte payaient, par exemple, l'Empire allemand et Dubrovnik[18]. Les mêmes recherches d'archives indiquent dans la zone plus générale de l'ethnopsychologie, la circonstance éloquente de la solidarité des magnats hongrois de Transylvanie faces aux demandes de la même Porte et, au contraire, la discorde au sein de la noblesse moldo-valaque[19] (même lorsqu'on a menacé les Pays Roumains d'être transformé en pachalik, voulu en 1595 par Sinan Pacha)[20].

Dans ces nouvelles conditions après 1550, de négociation avec succès de certaines autonomies politiques et spirituelles, j'ai dénommé l'attitude roumaine face à la pression de l'Islam – comme une nouvelle particularité de notre première modernité – une „mentalité transactionelle". J'adaptais ainsi une séquence historique précise de la naissance d'un être national, la caractérisation employée par Mihail Ralea lorsqu'il investiguait le phénomène roumain[21] et parlait de l'„esprit transactionel" en matière de politique et de morale[22].

Chrétiens de longue date et sédentaires[23], entourés par des masses de païens migrateurs, Latins dans l'océan slave et asiatique, situés aux carrefours des Empires chrétiens et attachés au culte sotériologique du leader montrant le chemin, les Roumains se particularisent par cette mentalité transactionelle. Celle-ci descendais, dans le passé roumain, de la particularité essentielle que, dans

[17] M. Maxim, *O istorie a relaţiilor româno–otomane cu documente din arhivele turceşti*, I, Brăila, 2012, p. 30-31.

[18] Ibidem, p. 49.

[19] Ibidem, p. 62, 81, 82.

[20] Idem, *Noi documente turceşti privind ţările române şi Înalta Poartă (1526-1602)*, Brăila, 2008, p. 251. Toujours ici (p. 230) notre savant collègue notait, pour le XVI-e siècle, „la remarquable stabilité du montant du tribut de la Transylvanie... due en tout premier lieu à la solidarité de la résistance de la classe politique transylvaine face aux pressions de la Porte, contrastant avec la discorde de la noblesse moldo-valaque et l'imperfection du système (électif-héréditaire) de la désignation des princes, qui offrait à la Porte un terrain favorable à l'accomplissement de ses desiderata financiers, acceptant le candidat qui offerait l'augmentation du tribut".

[21] *Fenomenul românesc*, Bucureşti, 1933, p. 5-7.

[22] R. Theodorescu, *Despre prima modernitate...*, p. 20.

[23] Le passage suivant se trouve dans *Repere de mentalitate...*, p. 164-165.

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l'ensemble de l'Europe orientale – avec l'exception impériale de la Russie – ici seulement fut gardé, sans interruption, un Etat organisé avec des dirigeants et des dynasties, avec des princes indépendants au début, autonome plus tard. Ceci à l'époque où, tour à tour, la Bulgarie au XIV-e siècle, la Serbie, la Grèce, l'Albanie au XV-e siècle, la Hongrie et le Pays Tchèque au XVI-e siècle, la Pologne au XVIIII-e siècle tombèrent sous différentes dominations: turque et autrichienne, russe et prussienne. Pour préserver cet État, pour occuper les trônes de Bucarest, Iassy et Alba Iulia des négociations permanentes avaient été nécessaires – avec des implications morales et matérielles –, ce qu'a fait durer la „misérable raïa" pour user du langage de la Sublime Porte (la conservation de l'Etat a fait que même l'émigration politique ne fut point un phénomène courant dans notre cas – trés different de ce qui c'est passé avec les émigrations de l'Europe orientale et centrale –, d'où les faiblesses excessives et endémique des formules tardives d'une telle „émigration" qui a suivi après la dernière guerre mondiale). Ici les alliances déconcertantes, les trahisons opportunes, les assasinats politiques, la corruption sans limites – le mot „mită" (pot-de-vin), par exemple, est présent encore au XVII-e siècle (la *Cronique anonyme brancovane*)[24] –, allaient de pair avec la flatterie, la phrase hyperlaudative pour le leader local, authentique „homo magus" messianique depuis le roi Carol II jusqu'au chef légionnaire Codreanu, depuis le maréchal Antonescu jusqu'aux dirigeants communistes Gheorghiu-Dej et Ceauşescu où pour l'éphémère maître, depuis le sultan de Stamboul, jusqu'au tsar russe, depuis le „César" de Vienne jusqu'à Hitler et Staline.

Latinité, préservation de l'Etat, roumanité, voici trois éléments qui designent une insularité ethnique, linguistique et politique, représentant le noyau de nos conclusions sur l'histoire, l'histoire des croyances et des arts des Roumains. Il est èvident que cette roumanité se trouve encore dans l'horizon de ce que les sociologues appellent la „culture de survivance" – accompagnée par fatalismes, pessimisme, paternalisme, par des essais continus d'adaptation – et nous pouvons nous demander si à un horizon plus eloigné se trouve pour nous aussi une „culture de développement"[25]. L'histoire de la roumanité nous laisse là-dessus un certain espoir.

[24] *Istoria Ţării Româneşti de la octombrie 1688 până la martie 1717*, éd. C. Grecescu, Bucureşti, 1959, p. 72.

[25] *Zece ani de adaptare. Starea naţiei*, Institut Pro, Bucureşti, 2001, p. 8.

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OTTOMAN MUSICAL TRADITION AND WESTERN EAR

BARIŞ ÇAKMUR

ABSTRACT

This study, by examining the travel books and diaries of Western travelers and/or musicians in their visit to greater Ottoman cities from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, presents how they described the music they heard in Ottoman lands as well as how they drew the picture of the musical life in the cities they visited. These narratives, irrespective of their aesthetic value judgments, provide important information about the musical practice of the age. Examining these narratives from a sociological and historical perspective, the study focuses on the conditions of production and reproduction of "Ottoman/Turkish art-music", and argues that for a quite long period of time Ottoman/Turkish art-music tradition remained stable and isolated from the current material contradictions, and in it one may find the traces of a superstructural formation of an older mode of production.

Keywords: Classical Turkish Music, Fasıl Music, Memoirs, Meşk, Ottoman Art Music, Production and Reproduction of Music, Travel Books, Travelers.

INTRODUCTION

This study starts from a general question about what music expresses other than melodies encoded in musical notes. As Jacques Attali mentions, music as a way of perceiving the world and as an analytical tool of understanding it is more than an object of study[1]. Thus, trying to investigate the ambiguous, indirect yet by no means non-existent mediations between the music as a superstructural activity and the material base of the society may lead to interesting conclusions.

The attempts at "theorizing through music" are not uncommon in social theory. For example, Max Weber frequently referred to music (or attempted to theorize through music) in his conceptualization of "rational bureaucratic society." As is well known, his argument was that the complex material, mechanical and

[1] Attali 1996: 4.

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technical determinants that produced the Western capitalism were completely same with the rational principles that produced the "harmonic music of the Western society." From a different perspective, Theodor Adorno attributed music a transcendental power, a capacity, which he considered more powerful than praxis, to invoke non-identity thinking through actively intervening in consciousness by its form to surpass the dynamic of a repressive, bureaucratic, and technocratic social order and its one-sided position of the consciousness.

This paper aims to ask some questions by trying "to understand through music." The locus of the paper is the music as described or heard by Western travelers in their visit to greater Ottoman cities like Istanbul, Edirne, Bursa, Izmir (Smyrna) and Thessaloniki. Thus, this study digs into the narratives (related to music) found in the diaries and travel books by the Western travelers and/or musicians from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries; and aims to present both the musical life in these cities as described by the Western travelers and how the various genres of music they heard were perceived by them.

Throughout the centuries, the subjective aesthetic judgments of the travelers about the "value" of the music they heard in Ottoman lands indicate a shared impression: Most of them described what they heard a "distasteful sound" rather than "music." Notwithstanding the few who appreciated or showed interest in the "oriental music" of the Ottoman lands, almost all travelers, without discriminating its genres, found this music incomparably inferior than "their own." As is well known, throughout the last five hundred years or so, as Westerners turned their inquisitive eyes towards the Ottoman Empire, their concern in the "mystical" East, especially by Eighteenth century, increasingly turned into an orientalist passion, and culminated in what Edward Said called "orientalizing the oriental"[2]. In other words, with the Enlightenment, the West not only created universal values as categorical imperatives that shaped its new civilization, but also constructed the image of the East as beyond the borders of its land of rationalism. Consequently, this perception of East served to declare West's ultimate superiority. However, whatever travelers' "biased" judgments, their observations and the factual data they presented to substantiate their own arguments tell us "another story" about the social and historical conditions of the production and reproduction of this music.

It is to be noted that most travelers visited Ottoman lands in Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries were from aristocratic origins. As diplomats, priests or scholars, in addition to traveling in several places where music was performed in the city, they also found chances to listen to the music played in the Ottoman court or in the houses of high-level state bureaucrats. Having listened and observed the "highbrow" or "art" music of Ottomans, they insistently compared it to their own art-music. According to their narratives, various genres of music they listened,

[2] Said 1979.

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including the art-music had two common characteristics: First, the "harmony", which in their eyes the primary particularity and privilege of Western art-music, was non-existent in the music they heard in the Ottoman court and elsewhere in Ottoman lands they visited; second, the "Turks", according to their observations, were completely "unaware" of the notation in music. They also observed that the repertoire and its transmission were exclusively dependent on memory. Interestingly enough, this emphasis on "unawareness" was unexceptionally reiterated in the travel books throughout the centuries, and was mostly presented as a basic symptom of the "ignorance and incompetency of the Turkish musicians." A "music" based on oral transmission and absence of notation, in their eyes, could only belong to "commoners", to rural and "ignorant" people. Thus, what surprised them was not the absence of notation in the music they encountered in coffeehouses, taverns or in public places, but specifically in the art-music of Ottomans. These two common observations by the travelers and their evaluation from a social and historical perspective will be the focus of this paper.

It is appropriate here to mention the confines and particular reservations of this study. First, the focus of the paper is derived from a historical and sociological interest rather than a musicological one. Some concepts referred in the study are "borrowed" from the field of musicology, however these references are conceived in a broader social and historical context. For example, the significance of such concepts like "harmony" or "notation" is searched basically in the historical conditions of the production and reproduction of music as leading to the emergence of particular musical institutions and structures reflecting the particularities of a material production of culture. As a shortcut, the term *musical tradition* throughout the study is used to denote this process. Additionally, the term *musical practice* is used to refer the conditions of production and reproduction of music.

As is well known, one of the pillars of Ottoman social and economic structure depended on an economy based on war of conquest. As its lands expanded to a diffused geography over time, it is not possible to conceive Ottoman cultural scene as uniform. Hence, methodologically one should be careful to avoid reductionism. To this aim, the "music" referred in this study is limited to the major cities of Ottoman state (as mentioned), and particularly to Istanbul. Even in these cities, it was highly possible that traveling musicians coming from Anatolia, Balkans, North Africa or from elsewhere were reciting their authentic tunes, or cities per se were the scenes of the fusion of different musical genres. However, it is still possible to speak about the existence of a *Classical Turkish Musical Tradition* (referred to as Ottoman Musical Tradition in this study) as connected, if sometimes loosely, to the Ottoman court; produced, consumed, and reproduced in the court as well as in some other places like Mevlevi Houses, homes and even in some coffeehouses. Throughout the study, I will use the term *Fasıl Music* to refer

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to this genre, i.e. Ottoman/Turkish art-music[3]. According to Behar, the mid Sixteenth century witnessed the establishment of an original Ottoman/Turkish musical tradition:

> This involved the establishment of new cultural centers, musicians/composers and makams (modes), in addition to the invention of original musical forms, styles and genres. Above all, there was a new language – namely Turkish – that from then on was widely used in the vocal repertoire in place of Arabic and Persian. An independent repertoire of Ottoman art-music thus seems to have emerged only after the mid Sixteenth century[4].

The most distinctive and intricate property of this musical tradition was the absence of notation. Since the Ottoman court was not illiterate, and sincea bureaucratic state formation had already developed before the institutionalization of the musical tradition, the issue of the absence of notation cannot be considered as similar to the case of the oral tradition(s) dominant in the musical practice of the rural/urban folk music(s). On the contrary, there was a highly institutionalized and stable musical structure in the tradition of Ottoman/Turkish art-music. In this sense, my argument is not that notation was completely unknown in the long history of the tradition; for various attempts to introduce several notation systems as well as musicians notating the existing or their own repertoire are well known cases. However, my argument is that notation, until late Nineteenth century, was not a dominant means of production and reproduction of music, and the musical practice stayed exclusively depended on a specific and stable institutional structure of oral transmission and education called *meşk*. In other words, the Ottoman musical tradition was based on the reproduction of collective memory, and the tradition throughout the centuries, in the process of its reproduction, was powerful enough to hinder various (external and internal) attempts to introduce notation and to reform musical practice.

It is not coincidental that most important attempts to produce and reproduce notated repertoire came from Western origin musicians who, for some reason, spent a long time in the Ottoman court. Hundreds of contemporary or historical

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[3] Despite the fact that Ottoman court hosted this music and more importantly it was the art-music of Ottoman/Turkish musical tradition, the use of the term "Ottoman court music" is still misleading for it was not a music genre exclusively performed in the court; it was produced, consumed and reproduced also in Mevlevi Houses and in the houses of music enthusiast families/higher state officials and even in some coffeehouses. Moreover, besides the existence of composer/musician sultans, *beys*, *paşas* as well as higher religious officials, Behar's research on the names of the composers reveals the fact that an important portion of musicians were coming from 'humbler' origins like *Tavukçuzade* (son of the chicken-seller), *Taşcızade* (son of the stone-cutter), *Sütçüzade* (son of the milkman) or *Suyolcuzade* (son of the builder of water conduits) (1993: 36-37). To avoid the stated error, Cem Behar prefers to use the term, "Classical Turkish Music" (Klasik Türk Musikisi). On the other hand, Bülent Aksoy (2008) suggests the use the term "Fasıl Music" (Fasıl Musikisi – literally fasıl means "part", "chapter" or "section"), which also denotes the form of the music. Both religious and secular *Fasıl* follows a specific cyclical pattern or an order of articulation during the performance. It is a collection of various instrumental and vocal pieces in a specific order.

[4] Behar 2006: 393.

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works were notated by these musicians/composers since the Seventeenth century. These notated works, although did not arouse the interest of their contemporaries, is now an invaluable source for music historians. It is appropriate here to mention some important notation systems tried among the others: The first significant attempt came from a Polish convert, Albertus Bobovius, (known as Ali Ufkî Bey or Santuri Ali Bey) who spent some quarter of a century in Topkapı Palace in the mid Seventeenth century. He was known by his comprehensive knowledge in the theory of Western music as well as in Western languages. In the palace, he studied music, and became one of the most important musicians of Fasıl music. He notated traditional music pieces as well as the recent tunes of his time. However, his manuscript (*Mecmua-i Saz-u Söz*, or also known as *Ali Ufki Edvarı*), in which some 500 pieces were notated, never emulated during his lifetime in İstanbul, and then it was brought to London by the English traveler Dr. John Covel in 1679[5]. Fifty years later, the second attempt came from a Moldavian Prince and musician, Dimitrie Cantemir, who invented an original system to notate Ottoman music. In his book, *Kitab-ı' ilm' ül-mûsikî* (The Book of the Science of Music), he wrote down the notes of about 350 songs according to his own system. However, similar to the former case, the scholars and musicians of his time was interested neither in this book nor in his original system of notation. His book remained practically unknown until the Twentieth century; and as late as in 1912, Rauf Yekta, a Turkish musician and music theorist, introduced the book for the first time in a journal; and 80 years later, in 1992, Owen Wright transcribed and published the entire repertoire of Cantemir for the first time. Among the attempts to notate and standardize music, probably the most important one (not in the technical sense, but rather politically) came from Sultan Selim III in the end of the Eighteenth century. Being himself a renowned composer of *Fasıl music*, Selim III had a desire to include the field of music in his program of Westernization. To this aim, he charged Abdülbaki Nasır Dede to invent a system to notate Turkish music. Abdülbaki Nasır Dede succeeded to introduce a system based on *ebced* numbers, and recorded it in his manuscript entitled *Tahririye*. However, despite the orders of the Sultan to reform the music and the apparent practicality of the *ebced* system of notation it was never used by other musicians and forgotten in a very short time[6].

Consequently, several different systems to notate music were introduced in different ages, many musical pieces being notated by (mostly Western origin) musicians. Yet these attempts were all of no avail. Notation did not emerge as a dominant means of producing and reproducing music in the Ottoman musical tradition. Moreover, several arguments like "incompetency of musicians" or their "unawareness", despite being the primary diagnosis of Western travelers, may well be ruled out when biographies of master musicians of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries are examined. It seems, most were well aware of musical notes, and even some had a

[5] Behar 1990.
[6] Öztuna 1974: 98-99.

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comprehensive knowledge on musical notation. Nevertheless, the essence of this intricate situation was very well described in an Eighteenth century manuscript: "Musical notes are adversary for the art/science of music (*fen-i musiki*)"[7].

In the first two parts of the study, Western travelers' description of musical life as well as their perception of the music they encountered is presented. In the third part, the significance of the absence of notation as designated by travel books and memoirs is discussed with reference to the institutional structure of musical production and reproduction; and on this basis the final section of the study is devoted to the question "how to understand the peculiarity of the Ottoman musical tradition."

THE MUSICAL LIFE IN THE OTTOMAN CITIES

Western travelers in their books present a quite detailed picture of the musical life in Istanbul andin other greater Ottoman cities. According to their narrations, the music of the Janissary Band (*mehter*) was quite distinguishable from other genres of music in terms of the quantity of the musicians performing and the size of instruments used. Composed of crowded instruments like shawms (*zurna*), cymbals and drums in various sizes, the sound of the mehter band was generally described in travel books as "unbearably loud", "noisy" and tiresome. In addition to the martial music, the narrations of travelers, especially after Eighteenth century, reveal that mehter was also reciting secular and popular tunes in the streets to entertain people in special times like Ramadan or festivities. On the other hand, regarding non-military music, with the exception of the art-music, unfortunately travelers do not give a detailed description of the particular characteristics of different music genres that was performed in the city. Nevertheless, they give a general idea about the musical life in the cities.

Regarding the music genres they encountered in the city, most of the travelers talk about the prevalence of a kind of music, sung and accompanied by the string instrument called *bağlama* (or *kopuz*)[8]. This genre is clearly a continuation

[7] İnal 1958: 26.

[8] Bartolomej Georgijević, a Serbian prisoner of war, had noted in his diary the lyrics of a folk song recited by a minstrel he heard in Istanbul probably in 1553. He writes the lyrics in Latin alphabet (as he heard in Turkish) and then translates it:

Birechen bes on eiledum derdumi
Iarà dandam istemiscem iardumi
Terch eiledum Zachmanumi gardumi
Ne ileim ieniemezum glunglumi

There is also a note in his diary describing the folk song before the translation:

They ar amorous vearses, of a goddesse called in their language Assih, whyche is goddesse of love, whose interpretation worde by worde is suche:

Of on, fifty, I haue mad [have made?], in my tribulatiō [tribulation?]
Of my creatour, I haue required, succour
I haue neglected, of my countrey, the visitation.
What, shall I do? I can not subdew, my minde. (Georgijević 1569, n.p. under the section "The Turkishe rites and ceremonies").

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or reflection of the folk music tradition of rural areas. In the rural areas, folk music (as well as popular tales) was recited by *aşık*s accompanying themselves with *bağlama*. According to Başgöz:

> These folksingers are usually brought up and live under nomadic or half-nomadic conditions around small provincial towns and villages. As soon as the minstrels come into contact with the literature of the cities, they lose what has been characteristic of them. They practice their art in public meeting places, in coffeehouses, in market places; at festivals for weddings or for circumcisions; and in private houses in the service of a *bey* or of an *aga*. In these places the minstrel finds satisfaction for himself by expressing his emotions and his excitement, and at the same time he earns the money he needs for his living. The influences of this social environment to which the minstrels are obliged to adjust are strongly reflected in their works[9].

Başgöz states that the necessities of urban life have detained minstrels from continuing their tradition. In order to earn their life, they were forced to respond the demands of urban life. Their cultural production had to develop a new expression: a kind of fusion between what they heard as music in the city and what they brought as music to the city. Consequently, the genre of music heard by Western travelers was probably this kind of a fusion – an urban folk music. Accordingly, it was recited by (professional) minstrels in coffeehouses in return of a payment; however, it was also recited by citizens just for amusement in their private environment. The popularity of the instrument was well described by Charles Henri de Blainville, a French musician and composer, when he was in Istanbul in 1737:

> They sing these tunes and accompany themselves at the same time on the Baglama, whose very soft sound allows the voice to be heard. They sing these airs, I say, under the windows of their mistresses like the Spanish do; or as recreation when they have retired to their homes... they sing these songs in a very soft tone and accompany themselves by a sound even softer. Can it be believed that a Turk feels the pull of a pleasure so sensual, or rather so gentle, so effeminate?[10]

It should be noted that, besides the art-music this genre seems to be also popular in the Ottoman court. The inventory records of musical instruments of Ottoman palace, as compiled by Uzunçarşılı, clearly exhibits that *kopuz/bağlama* was an instrument in demand until Eighteenth century[11]. In the second half of the Seventeenth century, Albertus Bobovius, in his memoirs, states "there are lots of minstrels, here in the court, and in everywhere, praising themselves for spontaneously composing and reciting *manis*"[12]. Although Bobovius does not give further information on the content of these poems or on the musical form of the accompaniment, his statement is an important evidence for the existence of folk tunes (or perhaps of a fusion) in the court.

[9] Başgöz 1952: 331.

[10] Blainville 1991: 6.

[11] Uzunçarşılı 1977.

[12] Bobovius 2009: 79. *Mani*, in folk tradition is a quatrain, improvised and recited (with or without accompanied by bağlama) by minstrels.

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Irrespective of the space and genre of the music made, it seems that making music was a routine in the daily life of the people in the greater cities of the Ottoman state. Most of the travelers were unable to hide their amazement at seeing many people playing an instrument. For example, in Sixteenth century, a French traveler who visited Izmir (Smyrna) stated that "many people know how to play one kind or another, which is not the case in France nor in Italy... But in Turkey, many know how to play, in their fashion"[13].

François Baron de Tott, who was the secretary of the French ambassador in Istanbul between 1755-1763, states, "music is the common and most familiar amusement of the Turks"[14]. The observation of French traveler Jean de Thévenot in his visit to Istanbul in 1655 is a good example of the "place" of music in daily life:

> If they be alone, they either sleep, smoak [smoke] a Pipe of Tobacco, or play upon a kind of Lute, which they call Tambour; and they'll play upon that a whole day without being weary, though the Melody be not very pleasant; or otherwise, if they be Scholars, they read in some Book, or write[15].

Impressions of the travelers in the Eighteenth century were quite akin to their antecedents. For example, as a dramatist and writer, Aaron Hillwas much more interested in the poems and stories recited in coffee houses (probably by minstrels) than the music which he found quite horrid. Nevertheless, he specifically mentions that people played music and sang "in every place, and every company"[16]. Similarly, a Swedish traveler Fredrik Hasselquist, in 1749, expresses his observations on the diffuseness of music in daily life, which, for his taste, was discordant and very noisy: "They consisted here, as in other places, in music and dancing, tho' quite foreign to our taste[17].

The observations also reveal that women were equally performing music at their homes. Sieur du Mont, after visiting Izmir in 1691, talks about his impressions on the women playing the instrument called *çeng*: "All the Women play admirably well on this Instrument, for 'tis their usual Diversion in their Chambers[18]. Similarly, Philippe du Fresne-Canaye, in Sixteenth century, states that all Turkish women could sing and play competently[19]. It can be said that such impressions are the commonly stated expressions in the most travel books.

In addition to "making music at home", the travelers also talk about the existence of travelling street musicians, playing at times of festivities or ceremonies. According to their narrations, these musician bands, composed of two to four musicians and dancers were mostly non-Muslims and playing joyous dance

[13] du Mans 1989: 11.
[14] Tott 1785: 159.
[15] Thévenot 1687: 35.
[16] Hill 1709: 73.
[17] Hasselquist 1766: 38.
[18] du Mont 1992: 24.
[19] Quoted in Aksoy 2003: 268.

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music or "gypsy-like" tunes with various instruments like *çeng*, some rhythmic instruments, violin or *kemençe*. For example, a French traveler Jean de Thévenot, in his visit to Istanbul observed that:

> They have also a sort of Women, whom they call Tchingueniennes [*çingene*- gypsy] who are publick [sic.] Dancers that play upon Castanets and other Instruments while they dance; and for a few Aspres, will show a thousand obscene postures with their bodies[20].

Thévenot's observation reveals that like in Feudal Europe, in the greater cities of Ottoman state there were travelling street musicians performing music to earn their lives. However, it is not possible to argue that music has developed as a distinct occupational category. For example, "music guilds" which emerged probably for the first time in France and then in everywhere in Europe as early as Fourteenth century [21] has never developed in Ottoman cities. However, street musicians were obliged to pay a tax to perform in public as described by a French traveler in Seventeenth century, "there are only a few players... who are obliged to pay a certain amount per month to the Prevost [*esnafbaşı*], to have the license to practice their craft in the manner in which it is done"[22].

As already stated, art-music was the main genre that attracted travelers' attention. It is not coincidental that this genre was the most described and discussed one in the travel books since most of the travelers, being themselves aristocrats or state officials, were invited to court or homes of higher Ottoman bureaucrats in various occasions. In this sense, they not only found a chance to encounter with this genre of music directly but also were informed about it, and thus recognized it as "highbrow" art of "Ottomans/Turks." Hereafter, when encountered with *fasıl music* in other places, they could identify the genre and in their travel books they informed about the spaces of its performance in the city. According to the narrations of the travelers, it seems that the music performed in the court was not restrained to the walls of the palace, but was also performed in Mevlevi Houses (*Mevlevihane*), in the houses of music enthusiasts and even in some coffeehouses. It can be argued that, probably because of this prevalence, the tradition could survive for a very long time. It is well known that some Ottoman sultans kept the music away from the court for various reasons, but mostly because of religious dogmas. In some reigns, this lasted as long as quarter of a century[23]. However, in a musical culture, where the whole repertoire was only recorded in the memory of musicians, and where all means of its transmission to next generations absolutely depended on an oral tradition, an uncompromising continuity of the musical practice was always a *sine qua non* for the survival of the tradition. If the Ottoman court had been the sole carrier of the musical tradition (*fasıl music*), any long-term interruption would have already deteriorated it.

[20] Thévenot 1687: n.p.
[21] Slocum 1995.
[22] LeFebvre 1992a: 21.
[23] Behar 2003: 45-46.

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Mevlevi Houses had a very important role in Ottoman musical tradition. They were specifically the places for the performance of religious music, however they were also public places in which music masters taught secular as well as religious fasıl music to the enthusiasts[24]. As Thibaut observes, they were the basic music institutions that substituted the function of conservatories in the Ottoman society where formal conservatories had never existed[25]. In 1670, English clergyman and traveler Dr. John Covel, counting30 Mevlevi Houses in Istanbul, stated that music for *ney, tanbur* and vocals was serviced to public on every Thursday and Fridayin these places[26].Similarly, Italian traveler Pietro Della Valle observed that Fridays were important for "Turks" not only because it was a day devoted to worship but also because on Fridays they enthusiastically went to Mevlevi Houses to listen to music: "the music they play is courtly, and deigns in truth to be heard; and whose flutes, which they call nai, or more correctly nei... it is unbelievable how sweet a sound they produce"[27].

Coffeehouses were the other popular places where music was performed. They were the important public spaces in Ottoman cities, where people gathered for amusement regardless of their social status. In the coffeehouses, people could chat, eat, drink, play chess, and also could enjoy several plays like *Karagöz* (shadow puppet theatre), *Orta Oyunu* (a comic and satirical improvisatory play) and pantomime[28]. They were also places, like taverns, where its customers enjoyed various musical performances either by "street musicians", minstrels or by *fasıl* musicians. It should be stated that, in some coffeehouses it was also possible to listen to the performances of dervishes, master instrumentalists (*sazende*) and vocalists (*hanende*). William George Brown, an English traveler, at the beginning of Nineteenth century, observed that in the coffeehouses at *Yenikapı* (in Istanbul), on every Friday, dances and various entertainments by "mueddahs [*meddah*] or professed story-tellers" were performed, whereas Thursdays were for *fasıl music*. He also noted: "a greater variety of musical instruments is observable here, perhaps, than in any other part of the capital"[29].

Paul Rycaut, who was a British diplomat in Istanbul devoting a chapter in his book to dervishes and their rites, stated that the audience esteemed this "ancient and sanctified music", and listened it very quietly in a deep reverence[30]. What Rycaut tells here is quite significant, for very similar descriptions, in different ages, were made by others to portray the manner of listening a performance. François Baron de Tott, in his memoirs, narrates chamber music (*fasıl music*) and the manners of its consumption in the house of a high officer he visited:

[24] Aksoy 2003.
[25] Quoted in Behar 2003.
[26] Covel 1893: 169.
[27] Valle 1989: 11.
[28] Hattox 1998: 81-82; Aksoy 2003: 260.
[29] Brown 1820: 158.
[30] Rycaut 1670: 135-140.

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> Their chamber music ... is very soft, and if one is displeased with the monotony of semi-tones, which at first is very disagreeable, one cannot but allow it a sort of melancholy expression, with which the Tursks are very powerfully affected ... It [the chamber orchestra] is placed at the bottom of an apartment, where the musicians, squat upon the ground, play melodious, or quick airs, without written music, but always in unison, whilst the company in profound silence, get intoxicated with an enthusiastic langour [languor?], by smoaking [smoking] their pipes, and taking pills of opium[31].

However, this "manner" of listening was not specific to wealthier classes. A similar attention in listening to music could also be observed in coffeehouses. Osman Cemal Kaygılı describes the "musical atmosphere" in minstrels' coffeehouses (*aşık kahvehaneleri*) in Nineteenth century as such:

> ...after reciting various entertaining songs, an *atışma*[32] session, accompanied by joyous laughter and whoop, begins. This is followed by reciting *koşma, semai, divan, yıldız, destan* and*kalenderiye*[33], always in the same order ... even without knowing the composers of these masterpieces, everyone becomes still and all ears to hear them[34].

Although we today are unable to identify and differentiate the particular characteristics of different music genres that were performed at those times, we can assume that the performance of different genres of music were responded by the audience accordingly. For example, Blainville notes, "in their song tunes they distinguish, I am told, recitative, sentimental, and comic song"[35].On the basis of the various narratives in several travel books and memoirs devoted to this subject, it is possible to argue that there were many different genres of music that accompanied different occasions; i.e. a kind of entertainment music for dances and plays, another kind accompanying eating, drinking and chatting, as well as the most well-known genre, the (religious and secular) *fasıl music*(together with some forms of folk music) which was attentively and silently listened in the court and in other various places.

"ORIENTAL MUSIC" AS THE WEST'S OTHER

Charles Fonton, as an officer of French Ministry of Foreign affairs, lived and worked as a dragoman in Istanbul for about seven years until 1753 and more than four years in Izmir after 1774[36]. According to Behar, his essay on Turkish music was probably submitted as an ordinary working paper or report to fulfill some

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[31] Tott 1785: 159-160.

[32] *Atışma* is a kind of competition between two minstrels through a kind of "musical squabbling."

[33] *Koşma, Semai, Divan, Yıldız, Destan* and *Kalenderiye* are some forms in traditional Turkish folk music, most of which are very difficult to recite and full of somber tunes. In spite of being a part of folk tradition, these forms developed in urban areas probably as a consequence of the long-term fusion between *fasıl music* and authentic folk music.

[34] Kaygılı 2007: 55.

[35] Blainville 1991: 6.

[36] Behar 1987: 9-12.

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formal requirements of his office[37]. However, this comprehensive essay, overlooked for a very long time, has proved to be one of the most valuable historical documents on Ottoman music. In the opening pages of the essay, Fonton summarizes the dominant Western perspective on the value of Ottoman art-music:

> What I propose today is simply to give an idea of Oriental music. But I can already hear more than one critic cry that it dishonors this noble art to concede its existence to crude and barbaric men who could appreciate neither its value nor its merit. Can one, they will say, apply the term "Music" to a confusion of out-of-tune instruments, voices without harmony, movements without grace, songs without delicacy, to a bizarre mixture of high and low sounds, an ill-sorted combination of disparate and cacophonous notes, in a word, a Monstrous Symphony more likely to inspire aversion and horror than to charm by the enticement of pleasure?[38]

Western travelers' assessment of the music they encountered in the Ottoman lands often reflects the reasoning of an orientalist mindset. In most narratives, anything they find alien in the "bizarre culture of Orientals" is presented as an answer to the question how the barbarian's savage mind ruined the true civilization in those lands, which was once the wellspring of the philosophy and arts that fueled their rational civilization. In the eyes of musicologist Blainville, "[t]he music of the Turks is none other than the remnant of that of the ancient Greeks ... [a]fter the capture of Constantinople, no trace of the Sciences and Arts remained in Greece"[39].Around the same years Swedish traveler Fredrik Hasselquist, in a very similar fashion, was arguing, "[t]his noble art is now no more to be found, in a country where it once had arrived to the highest perfection"[40]. The sublimation of the ancient Greek civilization, and the thesis on the "barbarian invasion that ruined its culture" led travelers to search for some evidences under the heavy and ruined columns of the ancient Greek civilization:

> Moreover, the Music of the Turks seems to me to have much antiquity, as one might judge from some pieces of their Music, to which I have joined here the form of their instruments ... they have also taken from Europe the use of the Violon [violin?]; nevertheless, their genre of Music and the manner of playing it, is all a remnant of the Music of the Greeks from which it takes its origin ... It seemed to me as well that these small intervals contain many quartertones, which were used by the ancient Greeks, which give precisely a distinctive character to their Music[41].

However, after determining how destroyed the music was, the musicologist cannot stop pontificating: "Plato would have persuaded these people that the beautiful and good music is always preferable"[42].

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[37] Ibid.
[38] Fonton 1988: 1.
[39] Blainville 1991: 4.
[40] Hasselquist 1766: 22.
[41] Blainville 1991: 4.
[42] Idem: 5.

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A general dislike of the music they heard is commonly expressed in the travel books. What is especially interesting here is the tone of the wording, which is mostly sardonic and even insulting. A century before Blainville's observations, for example, an English aristocrat and traveler Henry Blount narrates the atmosphere in a coffeehouse in Istanbul surrounded by a "distasteful sound", which he finds hardly recognizable as music. Blount, then decides to play a game to flaunt the incapacity of the musicians in the coffeehouse:

> they sit cross-legg'd, after the Turkish manner, many times two or three hundred together, talking, and likely with some poor musick [sic.] passing up and down. The musick of Turky is worth' consideration; thro all those vast dominions there runs one tune, and for ought I heard no more ... [the instrumentalist] knows not to what tune, nor can play the same twice over. This I am certain of; for to make experiment, I have ventured to play at diverse meetings, pretending the airs of my country, to prove whether they had skill or not, and it took so well, that they have often made me play again; then I found their skill and mine alike, for I never understood the least touch of any instrument[43].

Here Blount, not being a musician himself, "explains" the inferiority of this "alien" musical culture to his readers by equating his own musical incapacity with that of the musicians in the "Ottoman society" – as he generalizes. Similar disparaging tones are not exceptional in other travel books. At around the same time, i.e., the first half of the Seventeenth century, French Historian Michel Baudier, who seemed to have a special interest in Ottoman history[44], wrote the following: "[all the] instruments... playing confusedly altogether, and making a melodious harmony able to make asses dance, [f]or they never change their note"[45]. Sieur du Mont, almost sixty years later, reiterated Baudier's description as follows: "their Musick is rather a hideous Dinn [din?] than a regular Harmony, and resembles exactly the howling Shrieks of a Tortur'd wretch"[46].

At the beginning of the Seventeenth century, Lutheran theologian and priest Salomon Schweigger, having spent more than four years in Istanbul as Habsburg delegate, wrote his memoirs. The pages devoted to Turkish music in his book[47] grounds on the idea that this music is neither gracious nor attractive. For Schweigger, as for many of his successors, in contrast to the "true art music of the Christian world" this is a highly boring and anomalous music, which is going nowhere.

> To sum up, a well-informed person when encountered with this music can neither make some sense out of it nor can he find any skill in it ... all music is played tumultuously without considering the balance of instruments ... even they [Turks] are not aware of dividing a piece

[43] Blount 1636: 564.

[44] His books on the issue are Inventaire général de l'histoire des Turcs (Paris, 1619), Histoire générale du sérail et de la cour du grand Turc (Paris, 1626, translated to English in 1635), and Histoire générale de la religion des Turcs avec la vie de leur prophète Mahomet (Paris, 1626).

[45] Baudier 1635: 80.

[46] du Mont 1992: 24.

[47] Schweigger's book titled *Newe Reyßbeschreibung aus Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* was published in 1608 in German language. The parts related to Turkish music in the book are translated into Turkish by Bülent Aksoy and reprinted in Aksoy (2003).

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> into lower and higher sections ... the melody never changes. At the point where a trio or a fugue should enter, all the instruments return to the beginning and play the same tune in unison ... this music is no more than a graceless noise[48].

Almost fifty years later, Michel Lefebvre argues, very similarly, "They do not know music, and have only the simple unison in all their songs"[49]. In another book, he "details" his views as follows:

> One will find no one among them who knows anything about music ...In order to sing to their taste one must cry out at full blast, and as though being murdered ... Those among them who have heard the Organs of Jerusalem are enchanted with them... incomparably more than all the others, because it makes more noise[50].

An interesting example is Lady Elisabeth Craven, a woman traveler, who visited Istanbul at the end of Eighteenth century. Below is how she describes her adverse impressions after her first encounter with this music:

> [W]hatever harmony possessed their souls, it affected only their eyes. From ... any miserable fiddle or guittar [sic.] they touch, they only draw the most abominable discordant sounds ... Indeed music is a thing of which Turks and Greeks have not the least idea[51].

Later, in a reception or meeting at the court, where she attended with an English diplomat, her feelings about the music she heard was reflected in her diary: "I do not know that my nerves ever were so tired before – for my companion, who saw the difficulty I had to refrain from laughing, was saying, for God's sake do not laugh"[52].Then she concludes this chapter by telling that she was able to stop herself from laughing only by fantasizing as if "excellent German musicians" were playing.

By now it has become quite obvious that most Westerners disliked Ottomans' music. The question here, however, is whether these arrogant expressions reflect simply a dislike of music in the sense that Jean Jacques Rousseau emphasized: "the most beautiful songs, to our taste, will always only indifferently touch an ear that is not at all accustomed to them; it is a language for which one has to have the dictionary"[53]. In a broader sense it is possible to argue that the limits of the structure of a soundscape can be powerful enough to limit or determine the aesthetic value judgments. Such a structural constraint was well recognized by Rousseau who made the following argument about the western art-music:

> How have these changes come about? By a natural change in the character of languages. Our harmony is known to be a gothic invention. Those who claim to find the system of the Greeks in our own are making fun of us. The system of the Greeks had absolutely no harmony in our sense except what was required to tune instruments on perfect consonances. All peoples who possess stringed instruments are forced to tune them by consonances, but those who do not

[48] Schweigger in Aksoy 2003: 294-295.
[49] Lefebvre 1992b: 23.
[50] Idem: 21.
[51] Craven 1789: 239.
[52] Idem: 306.
[53] Rousseau 1998: 321.

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possess them have inflections in their songs which we call false because they do not enter into our system and because we cannot notate them[54].

An answer to the question raised above can be sought in the social and historical dimensions of a dichotomy in music: melody versus harmony. Since the existence of latter denotes a structure determining the direction of the temporal progression of the former, the dichotomy springs from the fact that although the melody does not need harmonic structure to exist; once harmony exists, melody is not free anymore in its movement. The emergence of this dichotomy may also be conceptualized as ideological domination of the "harmony" in music; for the stated structural constraint, once theorized through the imperatives of Enlightenment rationality, has acquired a law-like generalization, drawing the borders of "rational music" and dictating what is plausible and what is "irrational" in the production of music. Thus, the French composer and music theorist Jean-Philippe Rameau's declaration of the laws governing the music, i.e. "the laws of harmony", owes more to "Enlightenment rationality." In other words, what was common between e.g. Newtonian physics, "general equilibrium theory" of Adam Smith, or "the laws of harmony" of Rameau was the unique and dominant mode of reasoning of the Enlightenment ideology.

In this context, when Weber[55]argued that in the "rational music" melody is subjugated to harmony, he was contributing to a wider conceptualization of an impersonal, bureaucratic and rational order of which its laws are knowable/discoverable by man, and in which the means of instrumental reason renders man omnipotent to control the order. Hence, for Weber, as an instance of a wider system of "modern society", what renders Western music unique stems from the rational principles that produced Western capitalism:

> [O]urrational harmonious music, both counterpoint and harmony, formation of the tone material on the basis of three triads with the harmonic third; our chromatics and enharmonic, not interpreted in terms of space, but ... of harmony; our orchestra, with its string quartet as a nucleus, and the organization of ensembles of wind instruments; our bass accompaniment; our system of notation, which has made possible the composition and production of modern musical works, and thus their very survival; our sonatas, symphonies, operas; and finally, as means to all these, our fundamental instruments, the organ, piano, violin, etc.; all these things are known only in the Occident[56].

As a reflection of the Enlightenment rationality, the art-music in Western society appeared as a part of a general thought structure, demythologized and created by rational calculation. Hence, from the perspective of "technical rationality", "progress" and "domination" the ideology sets the borders, and directs dominant aesthetic judgments to guarantee to keep its subjects away from crossing the borderline:

[54] Rousseau 1998: 327-328.
[55] Weber 1958.
[56] Weber 2003: 13-14.

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> Enlightenment is mythical fear radicalized. The pure immanence of positivism, its ultimate product, is nothing other than a form of universal taboo. Nothing is allowed to remain outside, since the mere idea of the "outside" is the real source of fear ... The mythical dualism does not lead outside the circle of existence[57].

In this sense, any notion of "taste" and "artistic value" falling outside the boundaries of this rational system became inconceivable. For the Westerners, when encountered with music in Ottoman lands, their inflated expression of feelings seems to be a reflection of a particular mindset, as this music was "outside" the known universe of their "circle of existence." Beyond not being able to understand the "foreign" "musical tastes" per se, this structural constraint raised further complexities for Western travelers in terms of comprehending the social condition of music in Ottoman society. This is particularly evident in their observations and interpretations of the institutional structure through which music is produced and reproduced.

THE STRUCTURE OF OTTOMAN MUSICAL TRADITION

In Ottoman musical tradition, it was the memory, rather than sheets of paper, in which the music was stored in. As a matter of fact, in every musical culture, memory is and has always been important to make the music. Yet the difference is that in Ottoman musical practice memory appeared to be the only medium of music. Obviously, in the absence of notation, the only means of incarnating a musical work is the performance. More importantly, however, for a performance to exist, a musical work must have been stored in the collective memory beforehand.

This property of the music aroused the attention of many travelers, since making music without writing notes was beyond their imagination, or was the peculiarity of the "lower" music of "commoners." Consequently, they tried to explain this "deficiency" generally in terms of musicians' ignorance or incompetence." For example, in the second half of Eighteenth century Laborde, a French traveler argued that the notation, for Turkish musicians, was "a kind of magic, or at least a competence beyond their understanding"[58]. About a century before, Albertus Bobovius in his memoirs, put forward similar views:

> They play their instruments according to maqams, however they do not use notes ... Notating music is something miraculous for them, they don't envisage the possibility of writing or reading music[59].

Additionally, in his memoirs written during his service in Topkapı Palace for more than a quarter century, Bobovius also expresses his pertinacious effort to teach notation to court musicians. However, the travel notes of Laborde, as quoted above, prove Bobovius's effort was of no avail.

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[57] Adorno and Horkheimer 2002: 11.
[58] Quoted in Behar 1987: 22.
[59] Bobovius 2009: 77.

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Dimitrie Cantemir, a composer and a musician in the beginning of Eighteenth century, has been a monumental figure in the history of Ottoman music. During the long years he spent in Istanbul, he also wrote a book on the "Science of Music" (*Kitab-ı' ilm' ül-mûsikî*) in which he claimed he had given an order to the chaotic Turkish music theory by compiling it and introducing a "genuine system of notation" specific to the sound structure of Turkish music. Elsewhere, he argued that the notation, once unknown to the Turks, made the music much easier to comprehend now by the help of the system he introduced: "Turks say that practical music as well as theoretical music has become easier and clearer"[60]. In *Kitab-ı' ilm' ül-mûsikî*, in addition to his own compositions, he presented written scores of over 350 Turkish pieces. It is quite interesting to read Charles Fonton almost a half-century after Cantemir:

> [The reign of Ahmet III] was illumined by a large number of celebrated musicians. Demetrius de Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia, was one of the most famous... He is the composer of many Turkish airs which were very successful and are still listened to with pleasure. In his "History of the Ottoman Empire," which he wrote in Latin and which we have translated into French, this Prince claims the glory of having introduced notation into Oriental music. I do not know on what basis; it is an established fact that the Orientals do not have notation like ours, and do not know of it[61].

Fonton must have read Cantemir's other book, but he seems to be unaware of the existence of *Kitab-ı' ilm' ül-mûsikî*.A century after Cantemir's time, an English traveler, who seems to be well aware of the particular specificities of Ottoman musical tradition, confirms Fonton's observations:

> They reject notes, depending entirely on memory, but are, notwithstanding, guided by strict rules of composition, according to their own musical theory. Nothing surprises them more than to take down in notes the air they are playing, and to repeat it after them[62].

As a matter of fact, the fame of Cantemir, despite his assertive claim, was restricted only to his highly appreciated compositions, and notwithstanding his genuine system of notation, these compositions continued to be a part of the repertoire through the traditional methods of oral transmission.

The difficulties that a musician can face if notation is not used have always been the main concern of Western musicians visiting Ottoman lands.

> The Orientals, who do not know the cost because they are ignorant of it, believe that they can do without it, and do so. But as a result, what dreadful pains they take to learn something of their music. It is entirely a feat of memory. They have a number of works, which they call *peşrevs*[63] of which the most skilled would know a hundred, which they only learned after some years and with the aid of a master[64].

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[60] Quoted in Popescu-Judetz 1999: 25.

[61] Fonton 1988: 6.

[62] Dallaway 1797: 130.

[63] *Peşrev* is a kind of prelude in *Fasıl Music*.

[64] Fonton 1988: 9.

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The general impression was that, it was impossible for this music to survive, and when the masters who knew the repertoire passed away, the music and the tradition would also vanish away. Consequently, not only the absence of notation, but also the obvious resistance to record the music on sheets was not evaluated beyond the narrow attribution of being stuck in an "ignorant blindness."

From the perspective of an orientalist mindset, the emergence and development of notation was seen as a major achievement of the West -a progressive step towards the rationalization of music as Weber discusses[65]. The lack of notation was regarded, in the same way, as the major cause of later impediments. This connects the problem, in the hierarchical language of the West, to a general issue expressed with the terms like "developed", "underdeveloped" or "undeveloped." In this line, Fonton continues to argue:

> This lack of notation is without doubt an invincible obstacle to the perfection of music among the Orientals. Indeed, notation is to music what writing is to the sciences. It is the sole means of transmitting our thoughts and ideas. The insights of the human spirit would be quite limited if they had never been enriched by those of all the ages which we have inherited by means of the writing which has preserved it for us. It is the same with notation in music. Nothing is more beautiful, when one reflects on it, than this invention[66].

About fifty years later, Blainville explicitly stated what Fonton had only implied. Accordingly, notation was an imperative of rationality, and its absence was a sign of ignorance:

> The Turks do not have a rational System of Music by which to notate their tunes; memory fills this need. He who composes melodies sings them to someone likewise capable; thus from one to the other, it is preserved by heart, just as -among us the Commoners learn their songs or ballads[67].

However, what Blainville overlooked was the existence of an established institutional structure that guaranteed the stability and continuity of the tradition. In other words, as the production and the reproduction of the musical tradition absolutely depended on the reproduction of the collective memory, in the absence of written musical notes and a notation system, a specific institution, *meşk*, had guaranteed the continuity of the tradition. Thus, *meşk* was a name for both an instructional technique in the music education and for the method of transmission of the existing repertoire to next generations[68].As Antoine Galland, who is known as the first European translator of "Thousand and One Nights", observes in 1670:

> The Turks don't teach music in the same way that we do it, by written rules and notated melodies; all of that they learn by memory from the mouth of their master. This scholar, following this method, repeated what his master sang in front of him. Our eboulliant

[65] Weber 1958.

[66] Fonton 1988: 8.

[67] Blainville 1991: 5.

[68] See Behar (2003). Additionally, see Bobovius (1992) for a detailed description of *meşk* and *meşkhane* (the room where *meşk* is performed) in the Seventieth century Topkapı Palace.

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> [ebullient?] humour [sic.] does not give us enough patience to submit ourselves to such trouble; but the Turks have sufficient phlegm to allow it[69].

In this context, as Cem Behar states, "[m]eşk was both a total education system and a means for solidarity and consistency in the musical world; and in this sense it was having a practical, as well as a symbolic function"[70].

This "solidarity and consistency" was guaranteed by the "moral duty" of music masters to help to continue the tradition. It should be noted that, *meşk* was not an institution solely for music education. In the absence of notated music, *meşk* was also the only means to transmit the existing repertoire. In other words, without *meşk* the musical work could not continue to exist. This important function crystallizes the social and cultural significance of *meşk* as a social institution. First, it was a medium of a particular social interaction between musicians, which was signified by the above stated notion of "moral duty." Second, the roles of the musicians that interact with each other (which was also valid for the relation between the master/teacher and his student) were strictly defined by the musical tradition itself; hence violating its terms were rejected as being "immoral behavior"[71]. Accordingly, a monetary exchange (or any payment) in return of the "service of" transmitting the musical piece was considered unethical, thus *meşk* continued to stay as a voluntary institution until late Nineteenth century[72]. Parallel to this, laying claims to pieces and withholding them (or refusing to transmit) were equally considered unethical[73]. Consequently, it can be argued that continuity of the tradition was based on a specific social organization extensively demanding a notion of "communal spirit" and "social solidarity." Such peculiarities in relations of musical production were likely superstructural residues stemming from the material base of an earlier collectivist social formation. However, my argument is restricted only to Ottoman musical tradition (of *Fasıl* music), for unfortunately we do not have adequate information on the production and reproduction processes in other musical cultures existed in Ottoman geography to reach a generalization.

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[69] Galland 1992: 17.

[70] Behar 1993: 11.

[71] Since there were no musical guilds in Ottoman state and the production of art-music has not developed into an occupational category, naturally there were no sanctions to guarantee the proper application of these rules. However, these were ethical principles practically applied in an environment in which the system of production and reproduction of music did not emerge and evolve into a commercial system until late Nineteenth century. Studies show that musicianship in the field of art-music always stayed as a volunteer (amateur) activity. The musicians were earning their life not from music but from their various occupations (Aksoy 2008 and Behar 2003). The salaried musician/composer of the court was, of course, an exception. However, Uzunçarşılı's (1977) study on the records of Topkapı palace clearly shows that the number of the salaried musicians never exceeded 23 at a given moment between Sixteenth and late Eighteenth centuries. According to Behar (2003), the percentage of court musicians within the total number of musicians in Istanbul, in any period, did not exceed 30%.

[72] Behar 2003.

[73] Aksoy 2008.

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Nevertheless, I believe, it is still significant for it represented the peculiarity of the Ottoman musical tradition as discussed in the following section.

AN ASSESSMENT

Ottoman society was dominantly a pre-capitalist social formation, which by the Seventeenth century went through a structural (and permanent) economic crisis by the gradual deformation of its ancient land regime (*tımar*), and eventually congested in capitalist development. In this context, the musical practice, as a superstructural formation, remained relatively stable in which one may trace the lineages of the older mode of production rather than the repercussions of the already developing material contradictions, as was the case in the West.

The long process of the development of notation in the West followed the path towards standardization and later its integration into a broader rationalized order. This process was developed in a mutual determination relationship with the broader social, political and economic changes in Western feudalism towards capitalism. The significance of notation is that it separated the musical creation from the performance; and similar to what Jack Goody argued for the writing culture, it "enabled man to stand back from his creation and examine it in a more abstract, generalized, and "rational" way"[74]. Consequently, the notation conferred the musical creation a life of its own in an objectified form, which is also a precondition to estrange labor from its product. Consequently, despite the fact that capitalism was not the cause of the emergence of music in an objectified form, it transformed this "objectified form" into a commodity.

Notation, before the development of capitalist relations, caused the crystallization of the "social position" of music. For example, in feudal society the division between the literate and illiterate – as a class division – was also reflected in the music of the church as only those who could read and write were eligible to decode and encode its music, and the rest was excluded from this process. Hence, the Church as the sole ideological castle of Western feudalism could reestablish the social hierarchy within its sonic order vis-à-vis notation. More importantly, once this hierarchy was set in the structure of the language of music, "the absence of notation" or "oral culture" became the objects of the discourse concerning "the other." This discourse is echoed by Blainville's narrative as it speaks of "just as among us the Commoners learn their songs"[75] when he was describing the *meşk* in Ottoman musical tradition[76].

[74] Goody 1977: 37.

[75] Blainville 1991: 5.

[76] This discourse is similarly echoed in the words of a "commoner" when he was describing the music he heard in a royal wedding procession in front of a cathedral in the Sixteenth century: "[there was a] hevenly noyse on bothe sydes of the strete" (quoted in Hoppin 1978).

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Nevertheless, it can be argued that whatever the material practice of ideology, it springs from the production process of music. Adorno takes "reproduction" as the only mediatory moment between relations of production and consumption[77]. Accordingly, reproduction serves production, and thus the text (or score) becomes immediately present which otherwise existing only as a "dead text." It also serves consumption for the audience, in the absence of reproduced works, can hardly participate only in the text. Consequently, production and consumption meets via reproduction, which also appear as the scene for the conflicts of those two instances. In this process, according to Adorno, the capacity of the "mediatory moment" to buffer alienation of music from society lies in the degree of "reproductive freedom", i.e. interpretation. However, he concludes, with the victory of the bourgeois class, the musical work could establish its complete independence and "in a rational system of signs [defined] itself as a commodity in relation to society"[78]. Thus, capitalism destroyed reproductive freedom at the moment of reproduction.

Adorno presupposes music as existing in an "objectified form", the already existing score being the hidden center of his analysis. In other words, the text mediates the mediation between reproduction and instances of production process. However, its absence, which Adorno does not discuss, signifies an unmediated relationship between the production and reproduction. In Adorno's analysis, without the mediatory moment of reproduction, notwithstanding as a "dead text"[79], the product remains to exist. However, in the absence of text, reproduction, beyond mediation, is a *sine qua non* for the product to exist. But more importantly, depending on Adorno's argument on the relationship between "reproductive freedom" and alienation; it is possible to argue that in a musical practice identified by an unmediated relationship between production and reproduction (practically, where there is a unity between composition and performance), music is less likely alienated from society.

It is in this context that there is no known evidence to prove that Ottoman court or *Fasıl* musicians hierarchically classified, labeled or valued their own music as highbrow, discriminating it from a defined lowbrow. As is already mentioned in the introductory pages of this study, even the attempt by Sultan Selim III at reforming the music has not been powerful enough to "beat" the "power" of the musical tradition to transform the existing relations of production in music.

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[77] Adorno 2002.

[78] Idem: 412.

[79] We do not have any information whether Arnold Schoenberg had read Adorno's text dated 1936 before his following statement which questions an argument on 'dead text'; nevertheless it presents a good example for the "complete independence" of music in an objectified form: "music need not to be performed any more than books need to be read aloud, for its logic is perfectly represented on the printed page; and the performer, for all his intolerable arrogance, is totally unnecessary except as his interpretations make the music understandable to an audience unfortunate enough not to be able to read it in print" (quoted in Newlin 1980: 164).

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This property was also evident in the language. Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihalspeaks about the use of the term *alaturka* (Alla Turca), originating from Italian, only after the Nineteenth century[80]. Moreover, the original usage of the term only denoted to the separation of Turkish music (*alaturka*) from Western Music (*alafranga*). Gazimihal also adds that the use of the "courtly" terms (having aristocratic connotations) like *Enderun* and *Divan* to identify *Fasıl Music* (like *Enderun Music* or *Divan Music*) only began after the formation of the new Republic. Thus, the perception of *Fasıl Music* as an ideological symbol of the Ottoman court emerged mainly after the formation of young Turkish Republic[81]. Interestingly, in the eyes of the supporters of the new cultural policies of the republic, Fasıl Music was negatively connoted as an obscurant ideology of "Ottomanness"; whereas paternalistic conservative reaction produced a perception of *Fasıl music* as representing an idealized, nostalgic and aristocratic past[82].

These negative or positive connotations as symbolic codes prove that at the moment of this signification process, the tradition had already vanished away, i.e. historically had lost its meaning. Hence, what destroyed the tradition was not the "radical" cultural policies of the young republic. However, the Ottoman musical tradition was already a superstructural residue of the older relations of production in which an irreversible path of dissolution had already begun as early as the Seventeenth century and further aggravated through the infusion of capital into its pre-capitalist social formation. It could "survive" and stay stable for a relatively

[80] Gazimihal 1939.

[81] Western music had started to be performed in the court by the second half of Nineteenth century, as a result of the Westernization movements. In the same period, Janissary bands also started to perform several popular pieces of Western music in the streets of Istanbul. However, it was the young Republic that declared Ottoman music a *musica vulgaris*. Beginning from the early years of the Republic, a sarcastic and insulting tone dominated the criticism in the popular press. In a newspaper article as early as 1924, it was argued that "[Classical] Turkish music is nothing but an old and dirty kitchen rag; thanks to ones who had caused this annoying music to plague us. This music is an oxcart in an age of automobiles. The one, who can listen to it without a headache should have a head made of pumpkin" (quoted in Yenigün 1971). In a short time, the attack turned out to be an institutionalized state policy to regulate cultural production: Turkish music was excluded from the curriculum of conservatories and Western music (especially the Western classical music) dominated radio music broadcasts. The state policy to suppress the Ottoman music continued for a long time. For example in 1971, when Talat Halman, the minister of culture, proposed a traditional Turkish music concert to be performed for the first time at the "State Concert Hall" in Ankara, a renowned violinist wrote an open letter in a newspaper addressing Talat Halman: "if the state concert hall, the official showcase of Atatürk where I played Beethoven, is to be occupied by the representatives of a primitive monophony and its examples worthy of a museum, then, with an inner peace, I'm sincerely willing to return the title of 'state artist' given to me. Because, if this is the case, it doesn't have any value and honor in my eyes" (*Milliyet*, November 26, 1971). This letter was influential enough to cancel the concert.

[82] For example, one of the most renowned early Nineteenth century composers, *İsmail Dede Efendi*, being also a Mevlevi dervish, was not coming from an aristocratic origin. During his lifetime, although he was plainly called "Dervish İsmail", after the development of such a reaction, a name connoting an aristocratic musical past was attached: İsmail Dede Efendi. Hereafter he was known with this name (Behar 1993: 37).

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longer term for the mediations between the material base and specific superstructural formations are always intricate, ambiguous and indirect.

For today, the morality dominant in its vanished institutional culture, which was signified by values such as "solidarity" and "communality", are no more transmitted as experiences. Hence, tracing its soundscape in the written notes, memoirs or manuscripts that could reach today, despite very important, is always incomplete to understand the tradition. In fact, what we think we have in our hands today, as material products of this culture, are actually no more than the ruins of that tradition. Yet, the question concerning the value of Ottoman musical tradition reminds Walter Benjamin's constant search of the truth hidden in the dissolving aura of anything that was straight out of the ark. Ottoman musical tradition does have such a value. Its secrets are hardly perceivable to those who seek the truth in the material content of these transformed residues of the work of art. To an eager mind, however, an attempt to understand the "life of the material content" may help reveal the truth content:

> If ... one views the growing work as a burning funeral pyre, then the commentator stands before it like a chemist, the critic like an alchemist. Whereas, for the former, wood and ash remain the sole objects of his analysis, for the latter only the flame itself preserves an enigma: that of what is alive. Thus, the critic inquires into the truth, whose living flame continues to burn over the heavy logs of what is past and the light ashes of what has been experienced[83].

Thus, one needs to develop an integrative perspective to figure out the connections between the elements that constitute the tradition and its soundscape. In other words, I will argue the institutional structure, i.e. *meşk*, together with the values on which it was founded was in a determined articulation with the soundscape of the tradition. For example, Western travelers, as well as musicians, almost without any exception, defined the music they heard as uniform and monotonous. Fonton's following impressions can be taken as a case in point:

> [Oriental music] is moving and touching ... Adapted to the Asiatic genius, it is like the country, soft and languorous without strength and vigor and has neither the liveliness nor the soul of ours. The major fault ... is that it is too uniform. It ignores the admirable variety of the art which imitates nature, and which moves the energy of all the passions without confounding them ... The uniformity and regularity which prevails in it put an obstacle there ... it only stirs one part of our faculties ... It is pleasure that one feels, but this is only one of the thousand emotions that one could feel. This very pleasure ceases to be so by its continuity and often degenerates into a languor and an inevitable ennui ... Oriental music is compared by its partisans to a peaceful and tranquil brook whose soft and pleasant murmur captivates the soul and lulls it in the web of pleasure ... European music is a great and majestic river which rolls its waters with discernment, measures its course by the character of the shores that it washes, and carries richness and abundance with it[84].

Despite the existence of melodic richness deriving from the specificities of the makam structure, the dominant concern to preserve the tradition inevitably led

[83] Benjamin 2002: 298.
[84] Fonton 1988: 6-7.

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to homogeneity in the musical structure. In the process of reproduction, repertoire's exclusive dependency on memory impeded independency of the composition. In the absence of music as an objectified form, the composition per se did not have an authority over the performance/performers. This resulted in the materialization of each performance as unique and as if recomposed in each iteration. On the other hand, the authority of tradition, which was uncoded and yet strictly guided the act of composing/performing through its provisions, also limited freedom of reproduction. Thus, homogeneity, not only confined to repertoire but also covering the whole practice of performance was more of a structural property than being a problem to be solved. As stated by Behar "music is, above all, an action and it is neither an envisagement nor a thought; because it finds its reality in the *meşk* and in performance"[85].

The realm of the performance was *fasıl*. It was basically a concert suite, composed of vocal and instrumental parts following a cyclical pattern in a specific and strictly determined structure, which was common both in Mevlevi dervish rites and in secular music, the only difference being the size of the form[86]. Dimitrie Cantemir describes the *fasıl* as such:

> First the instrumentalists begin with a taksîm. After the taksîm they play one or two peşrevs; then they are silent. Then a vocalist begins with a taksîm. After the taksîm he sings a beste, a naks, a kâr and a semâ; then he is silent. The instrumentalists begin a semâyi. After finishing the semâ they are silent, but they hold the drone notes (aheng perdeler) and the vocalist sings another taksîm. Then the fasıl is over[87].

In this context, Fonton remarks a basic principle that all musicians sensitively consider in a concert: All instruments including voices of the singers abstain from dominating the other. He adds, "in a concert of Oriental music one hears neither bass nor treble nor tenor nor countertenor et cetera; [a]ll the instruments set to unison play absolutely the same thing and seem as one instrument"[88]. The significance of this structure lies in the fact that there was no functional division of labor in the organization of music. By way of a comparison, it can be said that the reproduction of the "harmonic music" of the West entails a functional division of labor between the elements that constitute the orchestra, for the roles of the performers are differentiated and existence of the *Kapellmeister* symbolizes the hierarchy. In Fasıl music, on the other hand, each participating musician absolutely aim to play in the same way, contribute equally to performance to form an undifferentiated sound structure to maintain uniformity. The aim is to produce

[85] Behar 2003: 29.

[86] Feldman 1990.

[87] Cantemir quoted in Feldman 1990. *Peşrev* is an instrumental form of composition played as a prelude in a *Fasıl*. *Semâyi* (*Semâi*) can both be composed for instruments (*saz semâisi*) or for vocals (*semâi*). *Beste, Naks* and *Kâr*, are all other vocal music compositions accompanied by all instruments taking place in the fasıl. *Taksîm,* being the only instrumental solo, is the improvisation. If *taksîm* is made by a singer, it is called *gazel.*

[88] Fonton 1988: 7.

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unison, a soundscape not only representing the values (collectivity and solidarity) from which it sprang, but also reestablishing them.

The formation of the Fasıl concert can also be seen as reflecting the stated values. In a *fasıl* concert (*fasl-ı meclis*) the specific seating arrangement for singers and vocalists, as was described by Cantemir, took a circle (or half a circle) form so that each musician could see the other[89]. More importantly, this kind of formation also signified that there were no hierarchical relations between the elements that constituted the sonic order.

In this context, music, as constituting the collective memory, was an outcome of the sharing of experiences. The unison, thus, signified the truth content of the work of art; it was the wisdom of establishing an order in which the product of labor appeared in a form undifferentiated from the labor embodied in the product.

The specificity of Ottoman musical tradition resembles "storytelling" as conceived by Walter Benjamin[90]. Both depended on the ability to share experiences and form a collective memory rooted in a tradition of transmission of those experiences; both "inclined to borrow from the miraculous" and possessed an authority of a temporal kind of tradition; and consequently both vanished away in the "modern society."

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[89] Feldman 1990.

[90] Benjamin 2007.

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TURKS AND THE CONCEPT OF DEATH: AN ANALYTICAL SURVEY AMONG TURKISH PROVERBS

ŞAHRU PILTEN UFUK

ABSTRACT

It is possible to identify the viewpoints of a society using various aspects that are illustrated in its proverbs. Based on the proverbs commonly used in Turkey, this study is aimed at identifying, analyzing and somehow systematizing ideas on death in Turkish culture, and determining how they reflect customs, traditions, and rituals from past to present. With this in sight, information is presented about various perceptions of death in the Turkish culture and several expressions about death in the Turkish language. Some elements pertaining to the ancient, pre-Islamic religion of Kok Tengri, as well as to Islamic Sufism, Islamic doctrine as well as (perhaps) non-religious, folkish good sense, are identified. Turkish proverbs are listed and examined under thematic issues such as: what death is; what are the causes of death; who dies; who doesn't die; killing; ways to die; better and worse things than death; the deceased; the funeral culture.

Keywords: Turkish proverbs, concept of death, customs, Turkish sufism, Turkish culture.

1. INTRODUCTION

Interpretations on death depend on people's life attitude. Religious, medical, economic and ideological influences, social and cultural environments, and critical judgements or emotional assessments, all have an important role in determining both personal and social attitudes. Consequently, while the meaning given to existence determines the approach to death, death also influences the attitude towards life and existence. Like any other cultural and sociological features, the various/plural approaches of a culture to death are also reflected in language.

By using linguistic evidence from the Turkish language, the following text investigates the meanings and the value of death that are most common with the Turkish people. The term *Turk* is used here generically, identifying the nation of Turkey, and *Turkish* is used to express the Turkish major dialect spoken in Turkey (which can be also called *Turkey Turkish*).

In this article, the proverbs collected by the Turkish Language Association (in Turkish, *Türk Dil Kurumu*) have been used as a basis for analysis. After the

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selection of the proverbs about death, the chosen proverbs were investigated and classified according to semantic features. It should be noted that the English translations given after the Turkish proverbs are literal. At times, when the proverb meaning was difficult to understand, some explanation or interpretation was also added to the literal translation.

1.1. *Expressions of death*

The most common verb used in Turkish for "to die" is *öl-*, and the most commonly used nouns for death are *ölüm* and *ölme*; these are nominalized forms of the verb. *öl-* , and *ölüm* has been used since the 8th century[1]. Both verb and noun can be used for human and animal subjects, and can also be used in a metaphorical sense for non-living things, in order to express that they do not run properly anymore. In general terms, there are no other verbs or nouns of Turkish origin with this meaning. Yet, there are some nouns loaned from foreign languages, and various compound verbs are formed by adding the *et-* or *ol-* (as auxiliary verbs) to these loanwords. Turkish words taken from Arabic and Persian, such as *fevt*, *merg*, *mevt*, *irtihal* and *vefat*, were commonly used especially during the Ottoman period. Most of these are not still in use today. Some others became semantically constricted in time, and their usage is now more limited. For instance, *vefat et-* compound verb, formed with *vefat* noun of Arabic origin, is now only used for human subjects, as sign of respect. Compound nouns formed with loan words from Western languages are not used in literary language. The compound verb, *mort ol-*, formed with *mort* noun, of French origin, or *ex ol-*, compound verb formed with the *ex* word, of English origin, exemplify this phenomenon.

In addition to these words, the idea of death is represented by various metaphors and idiomatic expressions, some which are generated by religious and cultural viewpoints. All such cases testify of an old Turkish. For example "according to the Kök Tengri religion, which is the oldest belief system of Turks, after expiring, the death person's soul flies by turning into a bird[2]". In the old Turkic, this image caused the semantic extension of the verb *uç-* (to fly), and gained the meaning of "to die". Yet, after conversion to Islam it had lost this semantic twist, as the language user did not want to keep the traces of the Kök Tengri religion alive. In Modern Turkish, with the influence of Turkish Sufism[3],

[1] Clauson 1972: 125, 146.

[2] Yücel 2000: 78.

[3] Islamic Sufism is a religious and philosophical thinking that tries to explain universe-human relation in a holistic way, and make people have divine, spiritual virtues. The most important characteristic of Sufism is that, wisdom underlies reaching the divine truth. The belief that God can only be reached through wisdom, not bans or fears is at the forefront. Turkish philosopher Ahmet Yesevi, who lived in 12th century, laid the foundations of Turkish Islamic Sufism. His poems, which synthesized Turkish and Islamic cultures, started shaping Turkish people's world of thought as of the 11th century. What his poems told in a pure and clear language affected people, and was effective in Turks' accepting the Islam. Dervishes taught by Ahmet Yesevi spread all around Anatolia and Rumelia in order to spread the Sufi beliefs.

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especially the conceptual metaphor of "life as a journey" takes an important place in the semantic extensions of the words. In this context, words like *yürümek* (to walk), *gitmek* (to go), *göç etmek* (to migrate), *göçmek* (to migrate), *göçüp gitmek* (to migrate), *ayrılmak* (to leave), etc., are all used for expressing *to die*.

To this time, in Modern Turkey Turkish 95 proverbs and 365 idioms, including 40 slang terms about death have been identified. The number of idioms which have a near synonymy or cognitive synonymic relationship with the verb *öl-* (to die) is 91. Those expressions also suggest some particular characteristics of the speakers, of the dead or of the context of death. For example, the idiom *hakka yürümek* (walk to God) reflects the fact that the dead person was a devout Muslim, whereas the idiom *ışığa yürümek* (walk to light) implies that either the speaker or the dead is non-Muslim, most probably an atheist.

Proverbs meaning death can be categorized according to several semantic features. The most comprehensive of these categories comprises "proverbs reflecting religious beliefs". For instance, *emrihak vaki olmak* (occurrence of God's commandment) reflects the idea that "death is a God's commandment", and the proverb *defteri dürülmek* (closure of the books) reflects the idea that "our good deeds and sins are recorded in a book". Proverbs such as *ahireti boylamak* (end up in the after life), and *cehennemi boylamak* (end up in hell) reflects, obviously, the after-life belief.

Formed on the basis of the Islamic faith, these proverbs are important as they reflect the Turkish Sufism perspective on death. According to Sufism, death refers to the death of the body only. There is no death for the spirit. Death refers to the spirit's return, which comes from God and goes back to God. This way of thinking comes along with the belief that "life is commended to us by God". This belief simplifies the process of death, as it is about the returning of this commended life. The meaning of death that underlies other proverbs, such as *can borcunu ödemek* (pay the debt of life), *can vermek* (giving the life), and *ruhunu teslim etmek* (deliver up the spirit), reflects this belief. Death is being freed of darkness, reaching light, and starting a real and endless life, because together with death a new journey, a new life begins. The aforementioned "death is a journey" belief serves as the basis for someother proverbs pointing to death: *demir almak* (weigh the anchor), *hakka yürümek* (walk to God), *ebediyete intikal etmek* (pass to eternity), *son yolculuğa çıkmak* (set out on the last journey).

Sufism does not consider death as something to fear; on the contrary, death is desired. This is the perspective from which death becomes associated with sweets, in the proverb *ecel şerbeti içmek* (drinking the sherbet of death). To Sufi followers, death is as sweet as sherbet because it is the time to meet The Beloved One. From this point of view, in Sufism death is described as the Night of Wedding, *Şeb-i Arus* (the time of meeting The Beloved). Hence, the lover can never forget the day of meeting the beloved; he is even worried that death might come late. Sufis wish to get freed of this world and turn back to God. This way of thinking is the source of the conceptual metaphor "God is long-awaited", seen in some Turkish proverbs such as *hakkın rahmetine kavuşmak* (reaching the grace of God), and *hakka kavuşmak* (reaching God).

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Following the category of religious belief, the most comprehensive category of death related proverbs is the category about the reason and ways of death. For example, the proverb *kan akmak* (to bleed) is used for the ones who die at combat, while the proverb *birini kan boğmak* (be drowned in blood) refers to ones who die of cerebral bleeding. Here are some more examples of proverbs in this category: *vurgun yemek* (die of the bends), *eceliyle ölmek* (dying on normal circumstances), *güme gitmek* (die in vain), *şehit düşmek/olmak* (dying for a holy belief), *yoluna can vermek* (die for the sake of someone).

Another comprehensive category includes the proverbs that give information about the dead. Proverbs in this category are both related to death and provide details about the dead person's profession, age, social status, religion, ideals. Examples: *duvağına doymamak* (couldn't get enough of the bride's veil [for a newly-wed bride] to die); *imansız gitmek* (to die without believing in God); *kurban gitmek* (fall prey to... [used for implying that the deceased was innocent and died because of someone else]); *eyeri boş kalmak* ([for a horse] to have an empty saddle [because the rider was killed]); *gözü açık gitmek* (to die without having fulfilled one's desire); *hasret gitmek* (to die longing for [someone, someplace]); *telef olmak* ([for animals] to die).

Some other proverbs indicate physical features of death: *nabzı durmak* (stop pulsation); *nefesi durmak* (stop breathing); *burnuna karıncalar dolmak* (filling someone's nose with ants); *gözünü kapamak/yummak* (closing eyes).

Some proverbs mention the time of death: *sabaha çıkmamak* (fail to live until morning, die before morning); *fücceten gitmek/ gümleyip gitmek/ gürleyip gitmek/ yuvarlanıp gitmek* (dying immediately).

There are proverbs related to the end and eternity: *sonu gelmek* (coming to the end); *son nefesini vermek* (breathe one's last); *son yolculuğa çıkmak* (setting out on the last journey); *ebediyete intikal etmek* (passing into the eternity).

There are a few proverbs having the semantic suggesting the love for life, such as *tatlı canından olmak* (to lose his/her sweet life) and *toprak olmak* (return to dust). There are more proverbs referring to the meaning of giving up on world, such as *candan geçmek* (giving up on life) and *dünyaya yuf borusu öttürmek* (blowing the horn of shame on world).

Some proverbs include blessings for the remained, in addition to their death related meaning. Of these, *rahmetli/rahmetlik olmak* (reaching the mercy) is used for Muslims, while *sizlere ömür olmak* (may his/her life be yours) is not associated with any religious belief.

2. THE CONCEPT OF DEATH IN THE TURKISH WORLD OF THOUGHT

2.1. *What is death?*

Like other nations, the Turk's conceptualization of death parallels their religious faiths. Before accepting Islam, Turks believed in several different religions,

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such as Buddhism, Manichaeism, Judaism and Christianity. However, it is the Kök Tengri religion that has had the greatest influence on the Turkish thought system[4]. The earliest record of this national, monotheistic religion comes from the 5th century B.C[5]. In this religion it was believed that the design of the world and the destiny of people depend on God[6]. Under the influence of the Kök Tengri religion, most of the Turks have continued to be monotheistic and predestinarian throughout history, and have seen death as one of God's commandments, even though they have practiced newer religions that declared the opposite. After the conversion to Islam, in the 10th century, this viewpoint was strengthened and transferred to the belief in *Allah*[7]. In the following proverbs death is related to religion and is emphasized as a truth which must be accepted without question: *ölüm Allah'ın emri* (death is the commandment of God), *ölüm hak, miras helal* (death is the truth, heritage is canonically *halal*.)

Some of the proverbs identify death by comparing it with situations in daily life, such as sleep or consciousness: *ölme bayılmaya benzemez* (death is not like being unconscious); *uyku ölümün küçük kardeşidir* (the sleep is the younger sibling of the death).

Proverbs relating death to daily life events are common. In these types of proverbs, the primary aim is to emphasize that death is a part of life: *dünya ölümlü, gün akşamlı* (the world is mortal, the day has evening); *hangi gün vardır akşam olmadık* (is there a day which does not get dark?).

In some proverbs death is considered as a means for purifying people who have lived a shameful, immoral life: *ölüm yüz aklığıdır* (death is a glory); *kırkından sonra azanı teneşir paklar* (the person who goes astray after forty years old can only be cleaned at the bench on which the corpse is washed).

Although it is a part of life and has many of the good features illustrated above, such as purifying people from shame or liberating them from misery, death is still not welcomed: *ölümün yüzü soğuktur* (the face of death is cold).

In some proverbs like *dünya iki kapılı handır* (the world is a *han* [inn] with two doors), we can see the conceptual metaphor of life as a journey, which reflects the influence of Turkish Sufism over the Turkish people's viewpoint towards death. As mentioned, according to Sufism death means returning to the God, discarding of the soul from darkness and reaching to brightness, and the beginning of the real and indefinite life. Thus, death is only about the body, with no reference to the soul dying[8]. In this proverb the life is symbolized with a *han*, which is a building located at waysides or in towns for passengers to rest and lodge. In this case, every living thing in this world is indeed a passenger who lodges in this world

[4] Kafesoğlu 1980.
[5] Gömeç 1998: 195.
[6] Tanyu 1980: 33.
[7] Ögel 2001: 707-714.
[8] Yakıt 1993: 101.

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for a certain time. Lodging, in other words life, begins with birth and ends with death. However, death is not an end; it is the start of a new journey.

2.2. *What are the causes of death?*

According to Turkish proverbs, the basic cause of death is *ecel* (the appointed time of death). While *ecel* is an Arabic word meaning "the expiring of something", in Turkish it means "the end of life, the time of death". According to *ecel* belief, the life span of a human is predetermined by God. It is not possible to change this length of time by any means. Because of this, death is inevitable when the *ecel* comes: *ecele care bulunmaz* (there is no cure for the appointed time of death). This viewpoint was not developed after the acceptance of Islam because it already existed in the pre-Islamic Turkish culture[9]. It is believed that even though the real cause of death is that the person's life span has expired, every death has a rational cause: *sebepsiz ölüm olmaz* (there is no death without cause).

We can categorize these causes as follows:

(i) Sickness: *eden bulur, inleyen ölür* (people cause bad things, pay the penalty, the suffering patients die);

(ii) Sorrows: *ağacı kurt, insanı derty er* (worm eats a tree, sorrow eats a human);

(iii) Saying something at the wrong time or with the wrong words: *vakitsiz öten horozun başını keserler* (they decapitate the rooster which crows untimely);

(iv) Curiosity: *merak insanı mezara sokar* (curiosity puts a person into the grave);

(v) Stubbornness: *gem almayan atın ölümü yakındır* (the death is close to the horse which doesn't take the bit);

(vi) Furiousness: *kuduz ölür ama daladığı da ölür* (a person who has rabies dies but the person who is bitten by him dies too);

(vii) Authority problems: *iki karılı bitten, iki analı sütten ölür* (a man with two wives dies due to lice, a baby with two mother dies because of milk);

(viii) Not loving oneself: *insan kendini beğenmese çatlar (ölür)* (if a human being does not like himself, he will die);

(ix) Slander: *iki kişi dinden olursa bir kişi candan olur* (if two people reject the religion [bear false witness], one person will die);

(x) Malicious friends: *şeytanın dostluğu dar ağacına kadardır* (the friendship of Satan lasts through the gallows);

(xi) Eating more than enough: *tok iken yemek yiyen, mezarını dişiyle kazar* (a person who eats something while satiated, digs his own grave with his teeth);

(xii) Provocation: *cömert derler maldan ederler, yiğit derler candan ederler* (by calling "generous" they debar a person from his goods, by calling "brave" they debar a person from his life);

[9] Roux 1999: 65.

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(xiii) Unexpected success: *görmemiş görmüş, gülmeden (güle güle) ölmüş* (a vulgar person became successful, he died of laughing);

(xiv) To be a member of a lower social class: *evden bir ölü çıkacak demişler, herkes hizmetçinin yüzüne bakmış* (it is told that one person in the house will die, everybody looked at the servant's face);

(xv) Fidelity: *hasta ol benim için, öleyim senin için* (be sick for me, [and in return of this favour] I would die for you).

Sometimes, when death comes near people create their own causes of death by putting themselves into bad situations: *eceli gelen it cami duvarına işer* (the dog whose time of death has come urinates to the wall of the mosque); *aç ile eceli gelen söyleşir* (a person whose appointed time of death comes chats with the hungry).

2.3. *Who dies?*

Many of the Turkish proverbs emphasize that no matter the person's wealth or power, all human beings will pass away. For this reason, this world should not be trusted: *gelin girmedik ev olur, ölüm girmedik ev olmaz* (the house which a bride hasn't entered does exist, the house which death hasn't entered does not exist); *dünya (Peygamber) Süleyman'a bile kalmamış* (the world has not remained to even [the Prophet] Solomon).

Youth or inexperience is not an advantage against death: *Azrail gelince oğul, uşak sormaz* (when Azrael, the angel of death, comes he does not ask if you are father or son).

Some proverbs also give information about the people whom were wanted dead by the traditional Turkish community:

(i) Enemies: *borç vermekle, düşman vurmakla* (debt ends by paying, enemy ends by getting shot at);

(ii) Rivals: *rakip ölsün de ne yüzden ölürse ölsün* (I wish the rival die, no matter what the cause);

(iii) Useless persons: *faydasız baş mezara yaraşır* (useless persons are fit for the grave);

(iv) Terminally ill patients: *arıca etek, kuruca yatak* (clean clothes, dry bed) [this is a pray for terminally ill patients, wishing death for them before soiling bed or clothes].

2.4. *Who doesn't die?*

According to Islam, no illness or disaster can cause a person to die before their death time that is predetermined by God. There are many proverbs that reflect this thought: *hasta yatan ölmez, eceli yeten ölür* (the patient who lies because of the sickness doesn't die, the person whose lifetime is over dies); *kırk yıl kıran olmuş, eceli gelen ölmüş* (an epidemic has continued for forty years, [only] the person whose time of death come has died). This belief brings people hope: *çıkmadık canda umut vardır* (where there's life, there's hope).

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Furthermore, the thought that death is inevitable gives people courage to overcome strife and conquer tribulations: *ölümden öte köy yoktur* (there isn't any village but the death).

However, not all kinds of trouble and sorrow lead to death: *her inleyen ölmez* (not all of suffering patient die). Although ineptness, hunger, or thirst give pain and cause much suffering, these are not seen as an excuse for death: *borçlu ölmez, benzi sararır* (the borrower doesn't die, his face turns pale); *aç ölmez, gözü kararır, susuz ölmez, benzi sararır* (the hungry one doesn't die, he feels dizzy; the thirsty one doesn't die, his face turns pale).

Turkish proverbs also emphasize that some negative characteristics like greed and self-conceit are factors that keep people alive: *tamah varken müflis acından ölmez* (as long as greed exists, the bankrupt will not perish by hunger).

2.5. *About killing*

In every period of the Turkish history, murder has been considered as the greatest crime in social terms. In Islam, killing is the second greatest sin, and absolutely forbidden. Life, given by God, can only be taken by God. The effect of Islam on Turkish culture can be seen clearly in the proverb *Allah'ın binasını yıkmak* (demolishing God's building), which means "killing oneself or someone else".

Nevertheless, especially in the traditional Turkish culture, defending chastity and honour is a justified excuse for murder. This is also revealed in the idiom *namusunu temizlemek* (to clean his/her chastity), which means "to kill someone or herself/himself after an attack on honour and morality". We can find this idea in the following Turkish proverbs as well: *irz insanın kanı pahasıdır* (blood is the cost of chastity) [people can sacrifice their lives or shed blood in order to protect their chastitiy].

War is one of the rare situations in which killing can be permitted. However, a person should not kill an enemy who surrenders, trusting his honesty. This way of thinking was also in Turkish traditions before the Islam: *aman diyene kılıç kalkmaz* (sword is not drawn to a person who craves for mercy); *eğilen baş kesilmez* (a person who comes to heal doesn't get killed).

In fact, there are not many proverbs related to murder in the Turkish language. The proverbs including expressions associated with murder mostly refer the act of killing as a metaphor for "causing extreme damage". These proverbs are generally warnings against the people who have the potential to damage other people around them. These people can be divided into three categories.

A first category includes proverbs about hungry people. According to such proverbs, the hungry can not think anything else but their hunger. They can destroy anyone and anything that creates a problem in feeding themselves: *aç kurt aslana saldırır* (hungry wolf attacks lion); *aç kurt yavrusunu yer* (hungry wolf eats its own cub). The second category of people in such proverbs is the insidious and cunning ones. These people are more dangerous than the ones who are known to be cruel,

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traitors or bad: *kurdun adı yaman çıkmış, tilki vardır baş keser* (wolf got a bad name, there is fox which chops off heads). The third category is about the friends and relatives. These proverbs warn people that they should not trust anyone, not even their kith and kin; and in any case of conflict of interest, the other party may do evil: *güvenme dostuna, saman doldurur postuna* (don't trust your friend, he would kill you); *birebiri, adamı yer diri diri* (relative eats a person alive).

2.6. *Way of death*

We see that Turkish proverbs also reflect the thought that even though the time of death is predetermined, there are situations in which the person dies depending on the choices one has made throughout his/her life. In other words, according to this view the bad things a person has done will affect the ways of his/her death: *hile ile is gören mihnet ile can verir* (a person who tricks, dies with pain). Similarly, someone's style of living or the aims that they serve are the elements that lead to their way of death: *su testisi su yolunda kırılır* (the pitcher is broken on the way to collect water).

2.7. *Better and worse things than death*

Death is an unavoidable part of life, yet people consider it as the most undesirable thing. This view of death provides us with a reference point, a criterion, against which we can judge the severity of seemingly bad situations. Situations perceived as being worse than death are listed below:

(i) Hunger: *aç gezmektense tok ölmek yeğdir* (it's better to die satiated than live hungry);

(ii) Falling into disrepute: *bir adamın adı çıkacağına canı çıksın* (it's better to die than fall into disrepute);

(iii) Losing sanity: *ölüsü olan bir gün ağlar; delisi olan her gün ağlar* (a person who has a funeral cries one day; a person who has a relative who lost sanity cries every day);

(iv) Migration: *yerinden oynayan yetmiş kazaya uğrar; en küçüğü ölüm* (displaced people meet seventy accidents; the smallest of which is death);

(v) Sorrow: *borcun iyisi vermek, derdin iyisi ölmek* (to pay a debt is better than being in debt; to die is better than being in sorrow);

(vi) Agony: *ölüm ölüm de, hırlamaya ne borcum var?* (death is death but what do I owe to suffer?); *can çekişmektense ölmek yeğdir* (it is better to die than to agonize);

(vii) Giving up beloved things: *atın ölümü arpadan olsun* (let the horse's death be due to [something loved like] barley).

There are several situations which are emphasized to be better than death:

(i) Illness: *ölümü gören hastalığa razı olur* (the person who sees death consents to illness);

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(ii) Separation: *taş altında olmasın da dağ ardında olsun* (it's better to be behind the mountain than to be under the stones);

(iii) Financial losses: *cana gelecek mala gelsin* (if something bad will come, it's preferred to come to the goods, not to the life).

2.8. *After death*

In Turkish culture, like in all the other Islamic cultures, funeral preparations begin immediately after the realization of a person's death (ideally, the funeral takes place shortly after). Delaying a person's burial is considered disrespectful. In some regions there are common beliefs like "if the corpse is kept waiting, God's account of this person will be delayed" or "if the corpse is buried while he's still warm he can answer the questions correctly in the grave"[10]. The waiting period before burial generally does not pass 14-15 hours.

The first preparations for the dispatch of the deceased to the other world are washing and shrouding the corpse according to specific rules. The shroud is a fabric that is generally made of white cotton and is used to clothe up the corpse. After burying the corpse, condolence visits aimed towards giving solace to the family of the deceased start and continue for some time. Meanwhile, especially in the villages, for the first two or three days no food is cooked in the house of the deceased, so the neighbours bring up meals from their own houses. On the 3rd, 7th, 40th, 52nd days, and the first anniversary of the death, the owner of the funeral provides a dinner with a commemorative religious ceremony. These meals are called *ölü aşı* (dead person meal). The historical roots of this tradition are found in pre-Islamic Turkish culture.

Ancient Turks believed that giving food to the deceased was their most important mission, and because of this they performed ceremonies called *yoğ*. After the spread of Islam, Turks practiced this ceremony by presenting food, such as halva, on certain days as a donation and reward for the deceased's soul[11]. These days, many Turks believe that the deceased undergo changes in the grave. It is a common belief that on the 40th or 52nd day after the death, the deceased's flesh is separated from the bones, and the charities given by loved ones during this time reduce the pain of this process. This is why it is necessary to perform all the religious and traditional processes; otherwise the spirit of the deceased is believed to upset the living[12].

Some proverbs reflect these traditions in Turkish traditional societies, such as not delaying the funeral, washing, shrouding, and burying the corpse, dispensing food for the soul of the deceased, as well as not cooking any meals at the deceased's house for three days, along with their metaphoric meanings: *ölüyü çok*

[10] Tapucu and Aksoy 2004: 56.
[11] İnan 1976: 153-154.
[12] Pehlivan 2005.

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yursan sıcağan olur (If you wash the corpse too much, he will deform); *kefenin cebi yok* (The shroud has no pocket); *dün öleni dün gömerler* (they bury the person who died the day before on the same day); *ölüyü örtekorlar, deliğe dürtekorlar* (they cover the funeral, put him to the hall and left); *ölü aşı neylesin, türbe taşı neylesin* (what can a dead person do with food, what can a tomb do with a stone?).

Another ritual about death in Turkish culture is *ağıt yakmak*, which consists in performing an elegy for the dead, inside the house of the deceased. According to Islam, it is not appropriate to mourn the deceased by crying or harming oneself; it is preferable to meet the deceased dispassionately. Nevertheless, the tradition of the elegy remains from pre-Islamic Turkish culture[13]. It is known that the mourning ceremonies and the tradition of elegies were continued during the empires of Hun, Kokturk, Uyghur, Karakhanid, Seljukian and Ottoman, and in the present day in the areas of Siberia-Altai, Eastern and Western Turkestan, the Caucasus-Persia and from the Urals to the Balkans where Turkish communities are still living. This ritualistic tradition continues its existence in some parts of Central Anatolia, South-eastern Anatolia, the Aegean, Marmara and Black seas and Eastern Anatolian regions of the Republic of Turkey[14].

An elegy can be defined as a "verbal or melodic expression that narrates a dead person's youth, beauty, talents, values, and the suffering of the people that he or she has left behind"[15]. It is recited with a specific prosody and rhyme, accompanied by a series of traditional motions. Elegies are generally recited by women who are hired to elegize upon the deceased, called *ağıtçı* or *ağlayıcı* (lamenter). In the elegies, character traits of the deceased, works that they have done in their lifetime, and the events that ended their life are mentioned with appreciative expressions. Praise takes an important place in elegies. In the elegy, the lamenter mentions the dead person's characteristics in an exaggerated way. In some proverbs, the reflection of this tradition is seen as: *ölmüş de ağlayanı yok* (he is death but hasn't got any lamenter); *ölü evinde ağlamasını, düğünevinde gülmesini bilmeli* (it should be known to cry in the house of funeral, to laugh in the house of wedding reception); *hayıf ölene olur* (the sorrow is to the dead person); *ağlarsa anam ağlar, gayrısı yalan ağlar* (only my mother cries for real, the others' cries are fake); *herkes kendi ölüsü için ağlar* (everybody cries for their deceased); *kel ölür, sırma saçlı olur; kör ölür, badem gözlü olur* (after death a bald person is mentioned as golden haired, a blind person is mentioned with beautiful eyes).

Some of the proverbs recommend not mourning the deceased to the extent of ruining oneself, but instead leaving the dead behind and forgetting them: *ölenle ölünmez* (it's not possible to die with the deceased); *dün öleni dün gömerler* (they bury the person who died yesterday [at the same day]).

[13] Bali 1997: 14.
[14] Görkem 1993: 490.
[15] TS: 23.

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Furthermore it is emphasized that it is not possible to die for anyone: *kimse kimsenin çukurunu doldurmaz* (nobody can feel the other's grave).

These proverbs also indicate that the dead person will not come back just as lost things will not be found: *giden gelse dedem gelirdi* (if the outgoings have come, my grandfather would have come back).

Although there is a tradition to cry or mourn after a funeral, death is a source of joy for the people who take advantage of the dead: *eşeğin ölümü köpeğe düğündür* (the dead of the donkey is wedding ceremony for the dog); *at ölür, itlere bayram olur* (when the horse dies, it would be a feast for the dogs).

2.9. *The grave culture*

Kok Tengri religious elements in old Turkish culture are still distinct in traditional Anatolian death comprehension, as are they in death comprehension of all Turkish societies who believed in different religions. Turks, who became Muslims, adjusted to the Islam some beliefs and practices which actually did not exist in Islam, and continued practicing them, creating Islamic variations.

One of the most important examples of this phenomenon is the grave building. Old Turkish belief in the existence of life after death made grave building a very important practice to them. Depending on the economic and social status of the dead, they built mausoleums[16]. In Islam, building costly and flamboyant graves with such material as marble and stones is considered as inappropriate. The most acceptable grave is defined as the one which vanishes the quickest. However, even some changes occurred with acceptance of Islam among Turks, the importance of the graves and visiting graves continued[17]. It is not a coincidence that graves are built on hills, roadsides, in the middle of neighborhoods, which can be seen anytime. The respect shown to ancestors in accordance with ancestor cult coming from old Turks, in addition to reminding of death in accordance with Sufi practices, underline this practice. Especially in the Black Sea region, life and death are so one within the other that there are graves built in the house gardens. Even not as common, this tradition is still in practice[18].

It is asserted that thinking about death, personally witnessing to the event of death, attending burial ceremonies and visiting graves can play a role in reducing the fear of death[19]. With the old Turks, with distinctive warrior characteristics, the fear of death can be considered as the worry of not to be able leave a concrete thing behind themselves, the anxiety for unfinished business, or fear to give up habits, rather than the fear of the death itself. This applies to Turks in Turkey as well. Ünver[20], who studied the feelings of the Istanbul people and Turkish society about

[16] Kocasavaş 2002, Karamürsel 2002.
[17] Müller 1979.
[18] Ünal 2011: 123
[19] Karaca 2000: 188.
[20] Ünver 1938.

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death by investigating various tombstones in Istanbul, claimed that a large segment of the Turkish society welcomed the death fatalistically and reacted to it with patience. Even some changes occurred in the viewpoint of the Turkish society to death, during the process of modernization these changes were not also reflected in the Anatolian traditions[21].

The concept coming from the grave culture appears in Turkish proverbs as well. Though, for proverbs, the image of the funeral grave is mostly used to represent death metaphorically: *merak insanı mezara sokar* (curiosity puts one in the grave); *tok iken yemek yiyen, mezarını dişiyle kazar* (one who eats while satiated digs his own grave with his teeth); *faydasız baş mezara yaraşır* (the useless are fit for the grave).

To traditional Turks, graveyards are not places of fear, but of peace. Paying visits to graveyards on Fridays, blessed days, Eids, represents a common tradition. Graveyard visits are also advised to people who have worries or troubles. Indeed, many proverbs related to graves make a reference to the peaceful graveyards atmosphere. These proverbs generally indicate that the world is always full of suffering, pain and sorrow, and that people can only find peace after death: *rahat ararsan mezarda* (if you are looking for peace, it is in the grave); *dertsiz baş, mezara (mezarda) taş* (the head without sorrow is a grave stone); *ağrısız baş mezarda gerek* (the head without headache should be in the grave).

3. CONCLUSION

The effects of the classical Islam and Turkish Sufism can be seen in Turkish proverbs related to death. Especially the effect of Islam is pretty obvious in the proverbs related to the cause of death. The belief in the fate about the time of death is dominant in these proverbs, which emphasize that death is God's commandment. Sufi effect in proverbs is more indirect.

As stated above, in Turkish Islamic Sufism death is considered as reaching the Beloved. It is dealt in a way far from sorrow or anxiety. In this context, the primary objective of Sufism is destroying the fear of death among people. For this purpose, it defines death by materializing it through various metaphors and tries to convince people that death is as natural as birth and it is a fact of life[22]. This attitude can be observed in proverbs, which compares death with daily life elements, such as *uyku ölümün küçük kardeşidir* (sleep is the younger sibling of death), *gelin girmedik ev olur, ölüm girmedik ev olmaz* (there can be a house without a bride but there can't bea house without death), and the ones which simplify death by comparing it to everyday natural phenomena, such as with *dünya ölümlü, gün akşamlı* (the world is mortal, the day has evening).

[21] Ünal 2011: 123.
[22] Çelik 2009: 136.

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With an attempt to normalize death, Sufism emphasizes the temporariness of the life on earth without adumbrating the coldness of death[23]. The proverb *dünya iki kapılı handır* (the world is a *khan* with two doors), which states that life starting with birth ends with death, or the proverb *dünya (Peygamber) Süleyman'a bile kalmamış* (the world has not even remained [the Prophet] Solomon), which indicates that death is for everyone, are both in accordance with the Sufi approach.

According to Sufism there is no peace in this world, which is place for examinations, full of pain, sorrow, suffering and trouble. One can only have peace after death[24]. This belief can be seen in the Turkish proverb, *rahat ararsan mezarda* (if you are looking for peace, it is in the grave). According to Sufism, one's behaviors and the intentions shape their lives[25]. The proverb related to death, *hile ile is gören mihnet ile can verir* (a person who tricks dies in pain) emphasizes this cause and effect relation.

Turkish proverbs related to death not always reflect the religious or Sufi beliefs. They also inform about traditional society's perspective of life and social relationships, reflect the pains that to them are worse than death, and inform about the ceremonies to be conducted after death. Additionally, these proverbs carry the grave and mourning traditions coming from the ancient Kok Tengri belief, and are still in practice with some differences from the past, even not acceptable by Islam.

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[23] Genç 2004.
[24] Demirci 2000.
[25] Eraydın 1997.

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HAMAMÖNÜ, RECONFIGURING AN ANKARA NEIGHBORHOOD

COURTNEY M. DORROLL

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the architectural voice of the Islamic bourgeoisie by evaluating the government-funded urban renewal project in Ankara's Hamamönü neighborhood. This ethnographic case study explores how the AK Party is framing Ottoman history and remaking the Turkish urban landscape through urban development projects. An analysis of the case of Hamamönü demonstrates that the Altındağ Municipality has used its restoration project to inscribe the AK Party's vision of institutionalized Neo-Ottomanism and neoliberalism onto the urban space of Ankara, a process that epitomizes the spatial politics of Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism in contemporary Turkey. This project represents a shift in cultural capital in a key district of the Turkish capital away from traditional Kemalist visions of Turkish heritage and toward the use of Ottoman nostalgia that underpins the social vision of the pious Turkish Sunni Muslim bourgeoisie that forms the AK Party's basis of political support. My work investigates the AK Party's Islamic form of neoliberalism with Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital.

Keywords: Ethnography, Turkish Studies, Neo-Ottomanism and Cultural Capital.

Hamamönü is a neighborhood in the Turkish capital of Ankara located within the Altındağ Municipality, an area strongly supportive of the ruling AK Party. Before the 2008 AK Party-led urban renewal project, the neighborhood was predominantly low-socioeconomic and residential. It was composed of late Ottoman-era homes that had been left to decay and *gecekondu*s (squatter houses) built by Turks who had migrated to Ankara from rural areas beginning in the 1950s and 1960s. Hamamönü exemplifies many of the political, ideological, economic, and aesthetic agendas that underlie neighborhood urban renewal projects sponsored and implemented by the current government in Turkey. An in-depth analysis of this neighborhood and its experience of AK Party-led urban renewal will provide a textured and nuanced account of the particular ways in which Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism is transforming the contemporary Turkish urban landscape.

REF/JEF, 1–2, p. 55–86, Bucureşti, 2016

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I will investigate how urban and architectural forms communicate complex political, religious, and social messages. I will explore this neighborhood in terms of internal relations, that is, how it fits within the spatial and architectural history of Ankara and within the shifting symbolic landscape of the Turkish capital. The project both receives and appropriates foreign civilizational discourse and projects them back again in strangely digested forms. The ways in which AK Party-led gentrification projects react with external actors, therefore, also has much to tell us about the goals and effects of Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism.

With Hamamönü I also discuss the spatialized reordering of the once low-socioeconomic, residential neighborhood into an arts and culture district for tourists. I argue in this chapter that the gentrification in Hamamönü epitomizes Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism in contemporary Turkey. By interviewing former and current residents, shop-owners, and art and craft workers, I document how the major changes in the Hamamönü neighborhood have been perceived and interpreted by local residents and current and former inhabitants of the neighborhood. I argue that the neoliberal economic and conservative social ideals associated with the AK Party are mapped onto the contemporary Turkish urban landscape through the gentrification of a low-socioeconomic residential neighborhood into a consumer-driven arts and culture district that is marketed to external audiences such as the pious bourgeois Turkish leisure class and foreign tourists. In addition, the ideological and architectural structures of the contemporary Islamic, ethnically Turkish ruling elite can be analyzed in detail through an evaluation of the built environment, the rhetoric of the AK Party mayor of the Altındağ municipality and the literature and promotional material produced to market the Hamamönü restoration.

BEFORE AND AFTER PHOTOS OF HAMAMÖNÜ

Academic Background

Amy Mills' work describes how Islamist Neo-Ottomanism is utilized to support the Islamist cultural and political movement and stands as a countermemory in Turkey against the dominant, secular memory of Kemalism[1]. Carel Bertram's book *Imagining the Turkish House* explores in detail the historical and cultural significance behind the Turkish *konak* or Turkish house and its utilization in literary tropes of Ottoman nostaligia. Bertram demonstrates that the architectural structure of the Ottoman *konak* is shown and portrayed with differing cultural attachments as the transition from empire to nation-state took place. The process of Westernization and the turn away from the cultural traditions of the Ottoman Empire in the period of the redefinition of what it meant to be *Turkish* therefore affected the Ottoman house. Bertram views the house as "a poetic abstraction...

[1] Mills 2010: 10.

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thus the subject here is the emergence and transformation of this abstract poetic image"[2]. Her work looks at how Turkish literature utilizes the concept of the *Turkish house* to render visible the private sphere of the home to its readers. The "Ottoman house" becomes the nationalist symbol and is thus referred to as the *Turkish house*. Her analysis utilizes excerpts from Turkish literature, caricatures and postcard representations of the Turkish house to discuss the collective identity and the collective shift that took place during the early years of Turkish nationalism, how this changes the simulacrum of the *Turkish house*, and how fiction contributed to this change in memory and definition. As will be discussed in detail below, the Hamamönü project's attempts to create a standardized and homogenized image of an Ankara version of the Ottoman house, the *hayatlı evi*, is also an attempt to use architectural forms to contribute to the construction of communal and national identity. This particular restoration project demonstrates that reimagining the Turkish house is a key component of the spatial politics of Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism.

Illustration 1: Fırın Street Before.

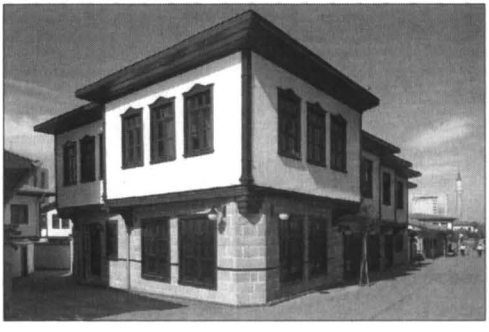

Illustration 2: Fırın Street After. Photos Courtesy of the Altındağ Municipality.

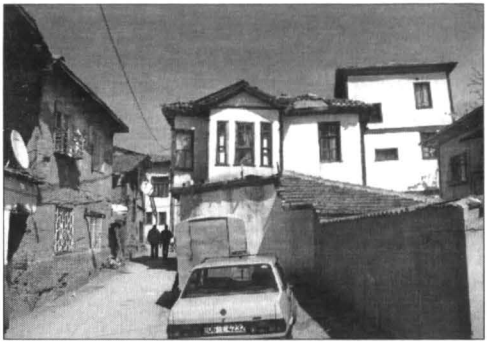

Illustration 3: İnanlı Street Before.

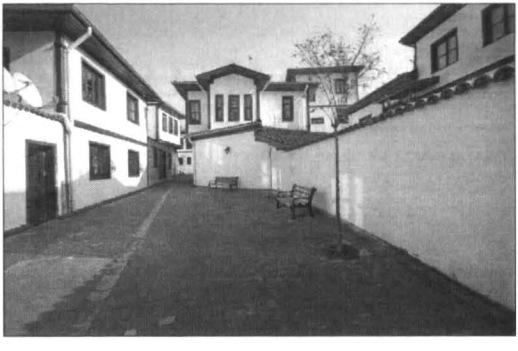

Illustration 4: İnanlı Street After. Photos Courtesy of the Altındağ Municipality.

[2] Bertram 2008: 9.

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The most vocal nationalist architect of the late 1930s and 1940s (i.e., the period of Kemalist dominance) was Sedad Hakkı Eldem, who first argued for the existence of the distinctly *Turkish house*, a notion rooted in an essentialist notion of Turkishness. This period was marked by the proliferation of monumental, stone-clad government buildings built in a style that stood in stark contrast to Ottoman tradition[3]. By the 1980s, however, Turkish cities began to exhibit urban patterns such as the departure of "yuppies" from the city to villa-type developments and suburbs[4]. For example, the neighborhood of Kemer Country outside of Istanbul uses traditional Turkish house motifs. This neighborhood was designed by the prominent Florida architectural firm of Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk to "restore the lost sense of neighborhood"[5]. In this community luxury is, at its root, displaying a type of architecture that caters to exclusive elite. This development ironically marked a liberation from "international" style at a time when Turkey was most open to globalization and international corporate expansion, including five-star hotels (the Conrad, Swiss, Möwenpick, and Ramada in Istanbul; Hilton and Sheraton in Ankara), supermarkets and malls, business centers, and holiday villages linked to international chains[6]. The neoliberal and capitalistic utilization of Neo-Ottoman architectural design is, as will be discussed in detail, a key feature of the Hamamönü restoration project.

Jenny White describes how the easing of restrictions to Islamic publishing in 1970s and the military's re-Islamization of official state ideology in the 1980s helped produce a sophisticated Islamic elite[7]. White shows that this period allowed the Islamic movement to form a viable economic basis supported by devout, politically engaged businessmen and industrialists[8]. The Islamist elite and Islamist middle class have emerged, and they value material styles and lifestyles[9]. Moving beyond the middle class, White analyzes two sets of local activists (one Islamist and one secular) in a working-class neighbourhood in Istanbul called Ümraniye. Ultimately White found that the Islamist group was much more successful in mobilizing locals by using "vernacular politics" which focus on local networks to unite people for the purposes of political consolidation[10]. The Hamamönü urban renewal project attempts to capitalize on this renewed, and highly profitable, interest in Ottoman high culture among the new pious Turkish Sunni Muslim elite. At the same time, the Altındağ Municipality also seeks to engage in "vernacular politics" by basing its political power on the strengthening and consolidating of neighborhood identity through its implementation of the Hamamönü restoration project.

[3] Bozdogan 1994: 51.
[4] Bozdogan 1997: 150.
[5] Idem: 152.
[6] Idem: 148.
[7] White 2002: 113.
[8] Idem: 115.
[9] Idem: 21.
[10] Idem: 20-21.

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This paper will present the 2008-2012 Hamamönü restoration project led by the Altındağ Municipality in the city of Ankara as an exemplary model of Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism in contemporary Turkey. It will begin by examining the internal histories and social relationships of the neighborhood, including the history of its Ottoman architecture, its complex social histories in the twentieth century, and details of the restoration process and its ideological justifications. It will then consider how the neighborhood is marketed to external audiences in service to the neoliberal economic goals of the municipality and will conclude with a consideration of the internal and external reactions to the project and how the project has affected residents of the area.

INTERNAL RELATIONS WITHIN HAMAMÖNÜ

Location and Background

Hamamönü is located at the base of the Ulus neighborhood, sitting atop one of the higher hills in Ankara. Ulus houses the old *kale* (castle), a place frequently visited by international tourists. The area around the castle and the neighborhoods surrounding the castle area have historically been unkempt and in more recent decades home to the lower socioeconomic residents of Ankara. This has not always been the case, however. In fact, the castle and its districts were once opulent residences of late Ottoman elite families. Hamamönü itself was also once a very affluent and powerful neighborhood. The neighborhood receives its name from its location in front of a bath house dating from 1440. In the opening years of the Turkish Republic in the 1920s and 1930s, when the capital was relocated from Istanbul to Ankara, the first constitution building was housed in the Ulus nieghborhood. Many of the parliamentary leaders lived in Hamamönü in the Old Ankara Houses (*Eski Ankara Evleri*) or *konaks* that were built in the style of seventeenth century and eighteenth century Ottoman homes, two-storied brick and timber frames that featured distinctive cantilevered windows. During this period, the once small town of Angora was transformed into a capital city of Ankara; Ulus and Hamamönü constituted some of the wealthiest and most vibrant areas of the city.

Knowledge of the history of the Hamamönü district before the early Turkish Republic is very limited. No one I spoke to among academics, researchers, government agencies, or local residents could provide information about the neighborhood during the Ottoman period. This included even the Ankara Council, a department of the Directorate of Culture and Restoration, the organization that was overseeing the restoration process of the neighborhood. This lacuna speaks to the general modern Turkish lack of knowledge of the Ottoman past. The Turkish language reform was likely a key determinant that contributed to the lack of knowledge of the neighborhood during the Ottoman period. The institutionalized forgetting of the Ottoman past creates a significant gap in knowledge, a gap that is filled by mythologized ways of remembering the Ottoman history of the area. This

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gap therefore highlights the imaginary and ideological nature of Neo-Ottomanism, and in every sense Neo-Ottomanism relies on this gap as an empty space within which it is able to erect its own idealized constructions of Ottoman history.

The restoration was conducted by personnel who were not able to access any historical records of the neighborhood, and it is this lack in ability to engage with texts and documents from the Ottoman period that actually hampers the implementation of historically accurate restoration projects in Hamamönü and other such historical sites in Turkey. The current administrative structure in Turkey that allows local municipalities power over restoration cuts out the experts and academics who might be able to access Ottoman texts. A more historically accurate approach would also clash with the speed and low-cost approach of the Altındağ Municipality. Beyond economic costs, involving outside experts would also weaken the municipality's direct control over the project.

Hamamönü in the Archive: Documenting the Historic Old Ankara Houses of Hamamönü

In order to understand how this open air museum of Hamamönü today altered the historic Hamamönü built environment to align with the politicized memory and cultural capital of the Ottoman past of Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism, a historical analysis of what existed in the neighborhood before the "restoration" is key. Buried within a file obscurely named "Ankara" in the SALT Galata[11] digital archives I found images of the exterior of Hamamönü before the restoration and floor plans of the original Old Ankara Houses in Hamamönü. After consulting Lorans Tanatar Baruh, Associate Director of Research and Programs at SALT, I learned that these images of Hamamönü are from the Harika-Kemali Söylemezoğlu[12] Archive at the SALT Galata museum.[13]

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[11] SALT is a nonprofit organization with three exhibition spaces in Istanbul and one branch in Ankara. In the Galata branch there is a research library and digital library open to the public. SALT is focused on contemporary art, architecture, and design.

[12] Kemali Söylemezoğlu is one of the most prominent Turks to have graduated from the Stuttgart School of Architecture; he previously studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. Upon graduating from the Stuttgart School of Architecture, he worked for Paul Bonatz and later taught architecture at the Istanbul Technical University. He worked with Paul Bonatz on several projects in Germany and in Turkey (Kayım 74-75).

[13] Baruh informed me that these images were believed to be reproduced from slides taken from an unknown source and probably used for educational purpose at a Turkish university (22 July 2013). After seeing the images, the architectural historian Dr. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu confirmed this and said they were most likely utilized by architecture professors in Turkey from the 1960s to the 1970s, when the *konak* architectural style attracted renewed interest. Aslı Can, archivist at SALT Galata, elaborated on the images: "These images were in DIA format. What I can think of is, these belonged to a hand-made publication and Kemali Söylemezoğlu was using them in classes for teaching. But because we don't have a hardcopy of the publication, or the notes, I can't say anything about who took the pictures or wrote the texts" (Email Interview 23 July 2013).

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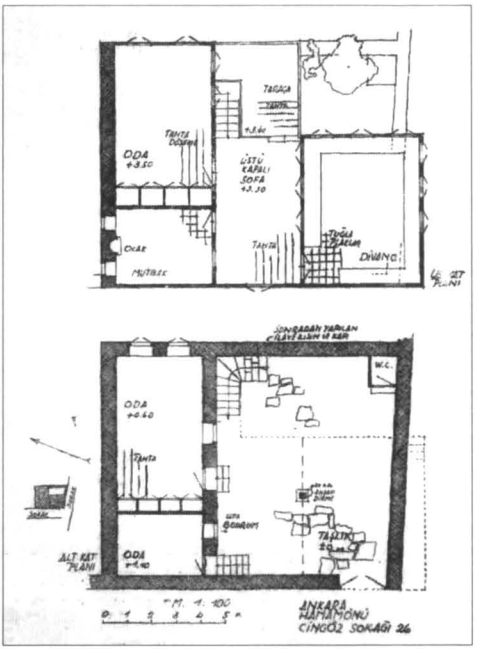

Illustration 5: First and Second Floor Plans from a House on Cingöz Street in Hamamönü. House number 26 (left).

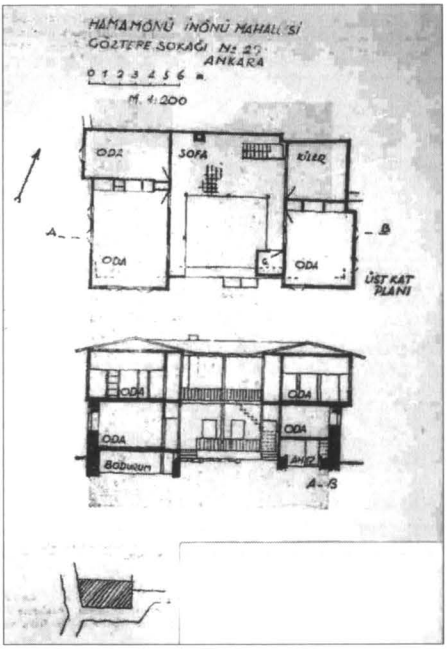

Illustration 6: Sketch of the Home on Göztepe Street in Hamamönü and First Floor Plan. House number 27 (middle).

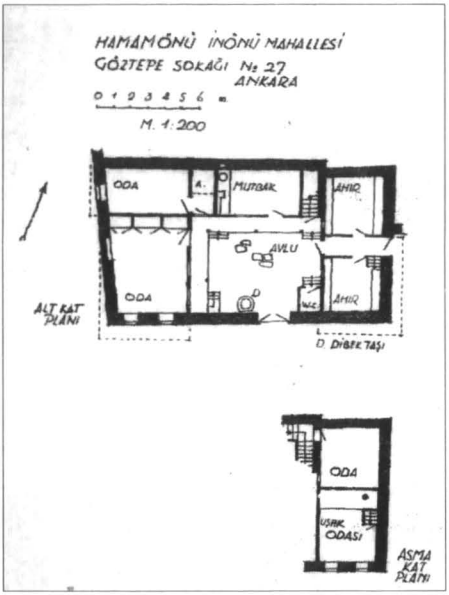

Illustration 7: Second Floor Plan of House 27 on Göztepe Street in Hamamönü (right).
All three sketches Courtesy of SALT Galata.

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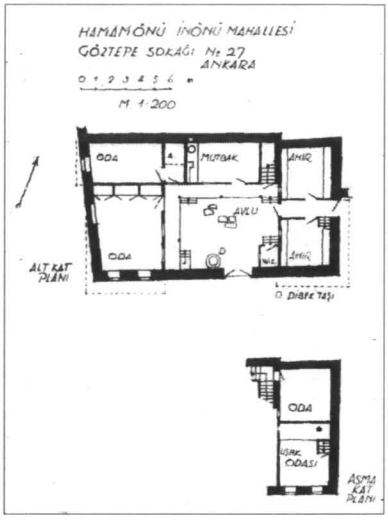
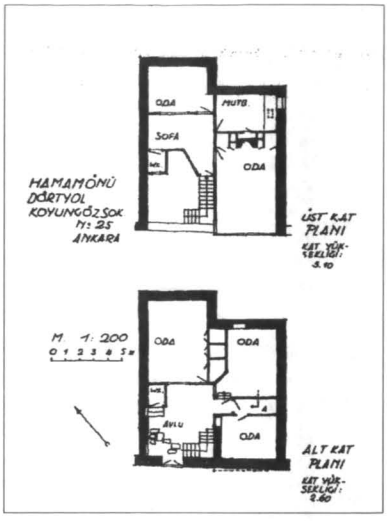
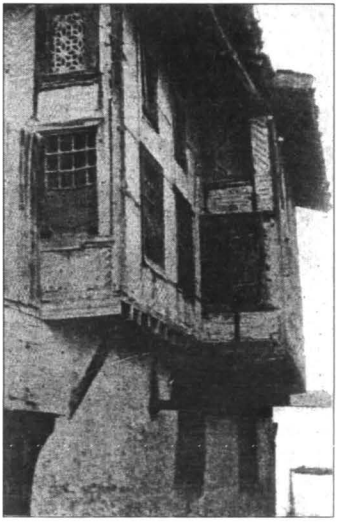
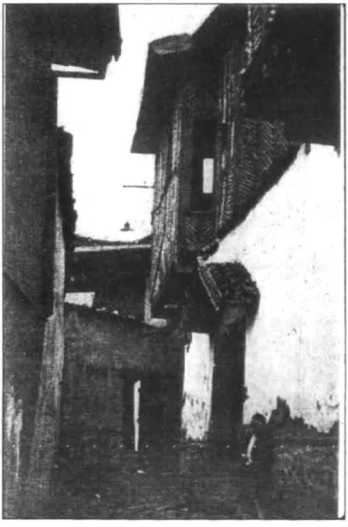




Illustrations 8 and 9: First and Second Floor Plan: House 27 (left) and 25 (right) on Dörtyol Koyungöz Street, Hamamönü[14]. Courtesy SALT Galata.





Illustrations 10-13: Three Exterior Shots of Homes in Hamamönü. Courtesy SALT Galata.

The exterior shots demonstrate the variation in architecture visible from home to home. The technique of exposed brick and wood on the second floor was not represented in the Altındağ Municipality's restoration project. The floor plans

[14] Translations for the architectural notes are as follows: oda = room; sofa = hall; mutg = kitchen; w.c. = toilet; ahır = barn; kiler = pantry; üst kat = upper floor; alt kat = bottom floor; asma kat = hanging/suspended floor; avlu = courtyard.

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reveal complex architectural and residential history of the Old Ankara Houses in Hamamönü; yet because speed and cost were prioritized in the Altındağ Municipality's Hamamönü restoration project, the interiors were not restored. Therefore owners are allowed leeway in this area; there is no formal process of oversight for the interiors of the homes in Hamamönü.

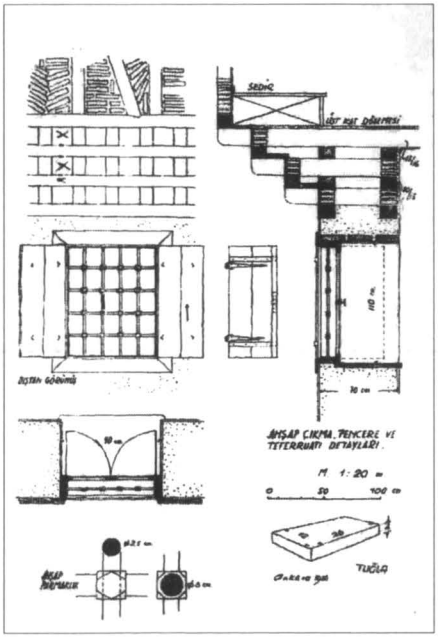

Illustration 14: Sketches of Architectural Detail of Hamamönü Homes. Courtesy of SALT Galata.

These details, which will be discussed in detail, are not represented in Hamamönü today. Shutters, for instance, are absent from Hamamönü windows. The exposed brick and wood motif is not also represented; instead all of the homes are painted white or cream with shutterless windows.

The History of Residential Architecture in Hamamönü

Having met and interviewed renowned Turkish art historian and professor at Boğaziçi University Dr. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, she sat with me in order to analyze the architecture of Hamamönü. I brought floor plans of the historic homes from Hamamönü, and we examined the contemporary photos of the neighborhood post restoration. Dr. Kafescioğlu confirmed that the restored style of architecture mimics architecture of the late 1700s and early 1800s, though it was not actually faithful to original designs from that time period. She pointed out that the restoration project in Hamamönü speaks to the way the current government is

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handling, or rather mishandling, contemporary restoration projects in general. The homes dating from this period that are characterized by one or two stories with cantelievered roofs, wooden square-shaped doors with distinctive round knobs and jutted windows that created a bay area on the second level are Old Ankara Houses (*Eski Ankara Evleri*).

The history behind these Old Ankara Houses is documented by Turkish architectural historians Orhan Cezmi Tuncer, Eyup Kömürcüğlu, Doğan Kuban, Mahmut Akok, and Ahmet Gökoğlu. Kuban approached the concept of Anatolian domestic architecture by referring to it as "vernacular architecture" (469). He also points out that the Ottoman-era homes built in Hamamönü fall into the category of the Ottoman domestic architectural form known as the *hayatlı evi* (life house) distinguished by its sloping roof, stone foundation, timber frame, and mud brick filing (Kuban 471). These *hayatlı evi* are distinctively two-storied.

Analysis of the documents from the SALT Galata archive sheds further light on the historic floor plans of the homes in Hamamönü. Figures 2-6 show characteristics that allow one to classify the "Old Ankara homes" in Hamamönü as *hayatlı evi.* These homes have a distinctive feature: a room that is semi-open and long connecting other rooms in the house; initially this is referred to as the *hayat,* an open-faced gallery that connects the other rooms which later was replaced by the *sofa.* In this way we can see that the homes in Hamamönü in Figure 2 and Figure 6 show the existence of the later version of the room, *sofa.* Kuban also remarks that the majority of old homes that are *hayatlı evi* are from the nineteenth century, which fits the information from Dr. Kafescioğlu. According to Kuban, the *hayatlı evi* reached its peak level of influence in the eighteenth century (478). Even more specifically, we can describe the homes in Figure 2 and Figure 3 as *karnıyarık*, which colloquially refers to a traditional Turkish dish made of eggplant stuffed with meat, therefore used to signify the long shape of the sofa room. Kuban describes this style of home as featuring a "rectangular sofa along the main axis of the whole length of the house, with groups of rooms on each side and openings at each end" (484). The *karnıyarık* was commonly constructed in the Balkans and Central Anatolia during the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century (Kuban 484). *Avlu* (courtyards) are also distinctive elements of the *hayatlı evi.* This can be seen in Figure 3, Figure 5 and Figure 6.

The homes in Hamamönü have been rebuilt to maintain their historic sloping roof and have been rebuilt using Ankara stone as their first floor foundation, yet the timber framing is simply cosmetic in the rebuild, and bricks were not used for the filling; instead a synthetic stucco was used. The rebuilding also converted any existing three, four or five story buildings into the two story *hayatlı evi.* This can be explained both by the desire on the part of the municipality to complete the restoration project as quickly as possible, and the attempt to rigorously standardize the neighborhood's architectural style in service to the idealized projection of the Ottoman past that is so central to the spatial politics of Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism.

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Rural Migration to Hamamönü

By the late 1950s and early 1960s the elites of Ankara were moving away from the older areas of the city and relocating to newly built, ultra-modern apartments in the nouveau riche neighborhoods of Çankaya and Tunalı. Their Old Ankara Homes were subsequently abandoned and left to deteriorate. Many of the older inhabitants passed away and then willed their *konak*s to several children. The children very often had no desire to live in the homes and so left them to be rented out. As time passed and the rural-to-urban migrations of the 1960s and 1970s intensified in Ankara, many of these new low-socioeconomic families rented the Old Ankara Homes of the Hamamönü neighborhood. Further, *gecekondus*, illegal squatter homes, began to proliferate in the neighborhood as ever greater numbers of poor rural migrants moved to the area.

The term *gecekondu* means "set down by night" and refers to shanty towns that have developed around Turkish metropolitan areas, built by rural migrants from the countryside seeking work in the large cities[15]. These organic formations stand as architectural contestations of the top-down urban plans of formal city planners in contemporary Turkey. These neighborhoods are now at risk of disappearing due to "cleaning" efforts implemented in order to create more space that is deemed amenable to the international tourist or the Turkish upper middle class. Toni Moceri details how these illegal dwelling structures represent particular strata of urban life. Her work focuses on one *gecekondu* community in particular, that of Sarigazi in Istanbul (on the Anatolian side of the city). She shows that Istanbul, aside from being a world city, is also a migrant city. Beginning in the 1950s Istanbul's population increased from one million to approximately ten million with around 200,000 new immigrants arriving annually[16]. This period marked the beginning of major migrations to Turkish cities and consequent rise of the *gecekondu* neighborhoods. Moceri calls *gecekondu*s "marginal hybridized spaces" and shows that they stand as an in-between of what is considered formal and informal, urban and rural, unfinished and complete[17]. In this way the space of the *gecekondu* is contesting binaries that have long been utilized to describe a cityscape, such as the dichotomization between urban and rural.

Charles Withers points out that the *gecekondu* constitutes an architectural contestation that goes against what is "supposed" to be. *Gecekondus* represent the migrants' physical exclusion from formal urban planning zones due to their economic marginalization[18]. Ultimately Moceri compares these *gecekondu* neighborhoods to everyday monuments and to the ancient ruins or monuments of the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Empire that also "live" within Istanbul. Her

[15] Moceri 2008: 455.
[16] Idem: 456.
[17] Idem: 457.
[18] Withers 2009: 638.

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point is that all monuments that sustain themselves (and are not torn down) have gone through a transformation process that speaks to their adaptability. She sees the *gecekondu* neighborhoods in this light, as sites of "contradictory, incomplete, ambiguous, and heterogeneous" entities[19].

The *gecekondu*, therefore, is significant because it is an architectural entity that contests the dominant structures of the urban landscape. It is characterized by neither the global capitalist construction projects of the "global city" nor the tourist culture destinations of former Ottoman palaces or monuments. Instead the *gecekondu* stands as a marking of the subaltern. These inhabitants mark whatever part of the city, in whatever capacity they can, as their own. In addition, *gecekondu*s are not planned communities dictated by urban planners but instead are places that only become legitimized after the fact. Over time these makeshift neighborhoods eventually acquire retroactive legal status and gain roads, electricity, and water utilities provided by the city or local municipality[20]. This process itself contests the normative mechanisms of city government. The *gecekondu* also contests the marketed version of Istanbul as the global city or European cultural capital. It is a place whose identity is at risk due to the expansion of gentrification designed to reshape Istanbul to fit the tastes of the bourgeois Turkish resident or the international visitor.

Ayşe Öncü analyzes the changing rhetoric of this "*gecekondu* problem" (i.e., persistent rural migration to cities and the attendant complexities it introduces into urban space)[21]. As she points out, *gecekondus* are routinely cleared in order to remove populations that are described as the city's "pollutants" in order to create more aesthetically and culturally pleasing areas[22]. The notion of gentrification or "cleaning up" areas in cities is primarily directed toward creating spaces for tourist use. This project is predicated on a focus on the transnational audience as opposed to the original inhabitant. It also represents a striking example of the power of class and the silences of the underclass or subalterns in society. To summarize, the *gecekondu* stands as a non-hegemonic, bottom-up construction that contests the policy and power of urban planning and that at the same time poses a problem for attempts to market Turkish urban space to the international tourist.

Sühleya Türkyılmaz's research found that in Ankara *gecekondus* sprouted as early as the 1940s and 1950s. They were, in fact, concentrated in the Altındağ Municipality because the squatter communities were created near the then-business center of Ankara, the Ulus neighborhood[23]. She describes the squatter areas of Altındağ as "bleak" with narrow streets that have children playing with garbage. She notes that pollution is a serious problem in the neighborhood because the

[19] Moceri 2008: 458.
[20] Idem: 457.
[21] Öncü 2007: 259.
[22] Ibidem.
[23] Türkyılmaz: 2004 46.

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homes are heated with cheap charcoal. Homes are in need of major maintenance[24]. She notes that during her fieldwork a few serious street fights broke out that involved the use of stones, sticks, and at times even guns[25]. By the 1980s, Hamamönü was no longer seen as a desirable place to live. It was described to me by one Ankara native as the "backside of Ankara;" this description properly evokes the forgotten nature of the neighborhood, pushed to the margins by flight to the suburbs and the arrival of subaltern rural migrant populations.

Rural-Urban Hybridity in the Hayatlı Evi

Kuban describes how the *hayatlı evi* fuses agricultural lifestyles with urban living and its importance regarding the role of women in the home. During the period of the *hayatlı evi* Ottoman women were "closed to the outside world," which necessitated the open space of the *hayat* room. Traditional gendered divisions of labor that predominated in agricultural areas assigned to women the duty of washing clothes, weaving carpets, making dried soups and fruit, cutting wood, and making butter and yogurt, activities that all would have been done in the *hayat* room. The urban location of the *hayatlı evi,* for example in Hamamönü where it was very close to the historic center of Angora's Ulus neighborhood, mirrored this rural lifestyle, since women in urban areas were tasked with activities and work similar to those of women in rural areas. The *hayatlı evi*'s *çıkma* (overhang) or *cumba* (bay window) was also used to allow women to peer out to the street, a public space that did not make provisions for female participation or visibility. The windows on the second floor would also have included wooden lattice work that would allow the women to view the street below without being subject to the gaze of outsiders[26]. We can therefore refer to the overhang as a liminal space that allowed the Ottoman woman to be at both times a part of the public and private sphere.

My own research on the women in Hamamönü's Handicraft Bazaar revealed similar gendered divisions of labor in the public and private spheres. Most of the women who moved to Ankara said they moved after getting married. I heard many stories that revolved around a rural- to-urban migration. Many times this would have happened during the 1960s and 1970s for the population I was interviewing, making their lives small microcosms of the larger rural-to-urban migration trend taking place in Turkey during that time period. Sibel Kalaycioğlu's research showed that rural women migrating to urban areas of Turkey generally did not enter the economic work force because they were discouraged from doing so by either their husbands or their families; instead the vast majority were housewives[27].

[24] Türkyılmaz 2004: 47.
[25] Idem: 53.
[26] Kuban 2010: 473.
[27] Kalaycioğlu 2006.

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This characterization certainly described many, if not most, of the women who I interviewed.

Meltem, a jewelry handicraft seller at the Handicraft Bazaar, moved to Ankara thirty years ago from the Black Sea area known as Ordu. She said that every woman at the Handicrafts Bazaar is a housewife. She described Hamamönü before the restoration project as essentially a large *gecekondu*[28]. Jale, a woman in her early 50s who was selling handmade foods at the Food Bazaar, told me she came to Ankara after she married. She was originally from Kayseri. She has spent the last twenty years in Altındağ Municipality; previously she lived in Yenimahalle, another neighborhood in Ankara but one that is not located within the Altındağ Municipality. She said that she was not allowed to attend school but she would have liked to[29].

Another woman, Nur, once leaned over to whisper to me during our interview that she only graduated from elementary school. I could tell this was a very embarrassing detail for her to disclose to me. She is fifty-eight years old. She said that she does not earn much, but she continues to go to the bazaar for social interaction. She specifically pointed out the friends she made while working at the bazaar and the communication that occurs. Nur was born in a village, and her parents came to Ankara for work. She moved to Altındağ because her husband purchased a house there. She also attends educational courses held for women by the municipality and has been participating in these programs for some 20 years[30].

Rural to urban migration did increase the size of Ankara and increased the number of *gecekondus* and dilapidated homes being rented by the newly arrived, low-socioeconomic, rural immigrants. This information sets the scene for Hamamönü's position before the restoration project of 2008. Hamamönü was described to me over and over again as a community in Altındağ Municipality that had old run-down homes from the late Ottoman period or *gecekondus*. The homes were unkempt and in a ruinous state. The area was known throughout Ankara to be dangerous and avoided after dark. It was not a place that people went to; it was a place people avoided. As discussed above, it was the "backside" of Ankara.

During one of my days walking the streets of Hamamönü finding people to interview, I came across a woman sitting on a bench; her name was Necla. She had bags on the bench so I took her to be a visitor. I stopped and asked her about Hamamönü. She told me that she used to live in Hamamönü as a child. Now she comes back as a sort of nostalgic act in order to remember her childhood. She explained that before the restoration the area was *daha samimi* (more heartfelt, intimate, and genuine): "The houses were not looked after because they were very old but the daily life was very beautiful. When I was a child, men would sell vegetables in the street, walking down the street with large baskets. Women worked in the gardens. *Simit* (Turkish bagel) sellers and yogurt sellers would walk

[28] Ethnographic Interview Ankara 2013.
[29] Ibidem.
[30] Ibidem.

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the streets calling out the names of what they were selling"[31]. She said she liked the life in the *gecekondu* and said that it was better than the community today because today women work and do not have time or energy for their neighbors. "Apartment life is very different from *gecekondu* culture. *Gecekondu* culture is warm and helpful"[32].

Much like the marginalized Roma communities that once inhabited the Sulukule neighborhood of Istanbul, Hamamönü was once filled with cheap housing either in run-down Old Ankara Houses or made makeshift living arrangements in the *gecekondus*. Unlike the long standing Roma population in Sulukule, the Roma who had been in that neighborhood since the Byzantine Empire, Hamamönü *gecekondu* residents came to Ankara from rural areas in the 1950s and 1960s looking for work. In Hamamönü there once existed a rural-urban hybrid culture that distinguished it from other newer and more upper class neighborhoods in Ankara. In the eyes of some, however, this hybrid culture and the low-socioeconomic status of the residents of the neighborhood made Hamamönü seem rough and "immoral." Many of my respondents commented on the morally corrupt state of Hamamönü pre-gentrification. Devrim, a woman I interviewed at the Ramadan street festival in Hamamönü, told me that before the restoration, Hamamönü was home to many bars and men's clubs called *pavyons*. *Pavyons* would have had belly dancers and escorts. Devrim described it this way: "Poor guys would have to pay for the pretty girls to sit near them as they paid for drinks"[33]. Devrim felt that some of these pavyons might have also had prostitutes working on site. Many other people who described Hamamönü before the restoration brought up prostitution.

Yet the rhetoric of "cleaning up" an area has the effect of rendering the original inhabitants a "moral" underclass and therefore allows displacement to be justified. A key signifier in Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism is the homogenizing characteristic of the idealized Ottoman village that is constructed through gentrification projects such as that implemented in Hamamönü. Tourism-led gentrification under the AK Party displaces original inhabitants and replaces them with a homogenized architectural place that is aimed at attracting the Turkish Islamic bourgeoisie or the upper class international tourist, both groups that find the previously existing hybrid cultures of low-socioeconomic neighborhoods unpalatable.

THE ALTINDAĞ MUNICIPALITY AND THE HAMAMÖNÜ RESTORATION PROJECT

My initial meeting with Mayor Veysel Tiryaki, the major of the Altındağ Municipality, was a ten minute encounter that resembled more closely a generic PR

[31] Ethnographic Interview Ankara 2013.
[32] Ibidem.
[33] Ibidem.

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moment than a substantive meeting. I was told that I could come by his office later that week on Friday, when the mayor holds a type of public office hour where anyone is welcome to come and address him about any issue they consider important or pressing. I arrived on that Friday at the beginning of the office hour, and his staff seemed surprised that I actually showed up. The waiting room before the Mayor's office was full of people from the municipality waiting to talk to the mayor. I took my seat and waited the full three hours. When the room cleared, the mayor's administrative assistant let me know that now the mayor would see me. I walked into his spacious office, where sixty-inch flat screen television was broadcasting international news in English. The mayor spoke to me in English and was very proud of his language skills. We talked first about his language training and his new hobby of watching the news in English. He told me about his English tutor and then promptly took out his cell phone and placed a call to his English tutor. After a few short pleasantries in Turkish he handed the phone to me. I assume he wanted me to introduce myself to his tutor to prove that he was indeed learning English.

He asked me if I had any plans for the day; I did not. My main plan was to try and get a more substantial meeting with the mayor, and that is why I waited for three hours, so of course I eagerly let him know that this was my only appointment for the day. He said to follow him. So I was swept away with his small entourage and taken to a bank building across the street from the municipality and his official office. We rode the elevator to the top floor of the bank, where we went to the executive's office suite. The bank's director was a woman in her mid-thirties, and she didn't seem altogether surprised to see the mayor, but did seem surprised to see me. He asked her to order in lunch for us, *mangal* (Turkish barbeque). We sat on a black leather sofa, and I let him know how impressed I was by the speed of his renewal project. He beamed, and he seemed elated to talk about the project and talk he did. We ended up spending two hours talking about the renewal project from his perspective. His perspective was that it was necessary to clean up the once derelict neighborhood. He was also very proud to share with me the details of the continued renewal in the neighborhood behind the Hamam, Hamamarkasında.

I left the meeting and Hamamönü knowing that this was a rare opportunity, to have the mayor speak to me so candidly about his project. This occurred before the AK Party's construction contracts were being investigated all across the country. I felt that with growing international attention on the AK Party and such renewal projects in the aftermath of Gezi, my ability to have the interview with the mayor and many of the interlocutors would no longer be a possibility. I also had the distinct feeling that my not being a native Turk gave me the ability to be viewed as unassociated with major political events within Turkey, which helped me in my data gathering. It was because I wasn't seen as an academic, Turkish secularist trying to be critical of the AK Party that allowed me into spaces and conversations that would otherwise have been closed to me.

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It was the idea in the mayor's mind that he was publicizing his project to an international audience that seemed to let me in. It was his assumption that this blonde American with non-native Turkish might not be aware of broader Turkish politics and might not understand the opposition to AK Party policies that seemed to make him feel comfortable enough to speak with me. As I think about my work getting published and the mayor reading or perhaps first having it translated into Turkish, finding out my critical cultural angle, it makes me not want to walk the streets of Hamamönü. My innocent exterior could be uncovered, and I would no longer have access and ease within that neighborhood. My fieldwork both in Gezi and in Hamamönü were particular to that time and place and the person they perceived me to be, the foreigner. Yet it doesn't escape me that both experiences could now never be replicated.

The Hamamönü restoration project is an example of the kind of shift in cultural capital toward Ottoman elite culture described by White and others. This shift marks a turn away from the cultural capital of traditional secularist Kemalism, the regime that founded the modern nation of Turkey. The early Kemalist regime of the 1920s and 1930s attempted to erase the public and private vestiges of the pious Muslim Ottoman past and replace it with a secularist ethnic nationalism that glorified "Turkishness" and its supposed ancient Central Asian (as opposed to Ottoman Islamic) roots. To this end, the Kemalist government closed Sufi lodges and tombs, repressed the practice of Islam in public, and abolished the Ottoman language entirely, attempting to sever any existing link with the Ottoman Islamic cultural capital that was dominant before the creation of the Kemalist nation state government in 1924. Wealthy secular neighborhoods such as Çankaya and Tunalı constructed in the mid-twentieth century and that are devoid of mosques and nearly any architectural allusions to the Ottoman past served the unchallenged cultural elite of Ankara until the rise of the pious Islamic bourgeoisie after 1980. The Hamamönü project and its architectural place represents a very clear challenge to the hegemony of this Kemalist urban vision[34].

Hamamönü's 2008-2012 restoration initiative was led and masterminded by the AK Party Mayor of the Altındağ Municipality, Veysel Tiryaki. This project coincided with the AK Party's application for Istanbul to be designated a European Capital of Culture and corresponding plans to gentrify or "cleanse" neighborhoods that did not align with the Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism of the cultural capital at play in Turkish politics at that time. When I interviewed Tiryaki he was immensely proud of his project in Hamamönü. He kept telling me how horrid and disgraceful the area was before the restoration was completed and flashed a proud smile as he described "cleaning up" the neighborhood. He told me how he wanted to do things fast and that is why only the exteriors of the three hundred Old Ankara Houses

[34] Bozdoğan 1994: 51; Meeker 1997: 181; Shaw, Stanford 1997: 13; Shaw, Wendy 2003: 9-10; Tanyeri-Erdemir 2006: 382.

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were restored. He justified the expropriation of residents' homes by saying they were not keeping up their properties and so needed to leave. There was no indication at all that he had reflected on the effects this gentrification might have had on the former residents of Hamamönü.

The project was carried out by organizations and architects contracted and hired by the municipality. Many of the existing homes were expropriated directly by the Altındağ Municipality. The description of the gentrification project as a "restoration" is complicated by the fact that many of the original historic buildings were destroyed and then rebuilt to mimic an imagined and idealized Ottoman past. When I interviewed Mayor Tiryaki, he told me that the neighborhood behind the historic Hamam, aptly named Hamamarkasında (behind the Hamam) is being "restored" in a similar fashion to Hamamönü but this time the majority of all homes are being legally expropriated because it will be the easiest way to handle the restoration. As described previously, the interiors of many of the historic Old Ankara Houses were not restored, and the "restored" or newly-built structures were thoroughly standardized to conform to a quite literally "white-washed" vision of the Neo-Ottoman architectural. Traditional architectural features and variations (such as exterior paint color and stylistic details) were eliminated or downplayed in order to create a neighborhood where the buildings were nearly indistinguishable from each other. For instance, it was explained to me by one of my interlocutors that building owners had one choice of approved exterior paint color: cream or white (which were nearly indistinguishable). All the building materials were standardized as well: each structure was required to have timber framing around the structure's outline and most used Ankara stone, such as a foundation for the first floor. Upon my first visit in summer 2012 I stumbled upon Hamamönü and assumed it was simply a newly-built area of the city that was planned to mimic the Ottoman *konak* past. I soon learned that this neighborhood was one of the most historical areas of Ankara; *was* being the operative word. After the "restoration," which was actually simply a rebuilding of the exterior, much of the historical past was lost or assimilated into the municipality's hegemonic architectural and social vision.

Starting in 2007, the Altındağ Municipality, with the cooperation of Hacettepe University's medical campus (which directly neighbors Hamamönü), proposed a plan to the Ankara Council that oversees restoration projects in Altındağ Muncipality to restore the exterior of 300 homes in Hamamönü. Their plans also included the eradication of *gecekondus* and the addition of a park and several newly rebuilt *konaks*. After starting construction in 2008, by 2011 Hamamönü had restored the following streets: Dutlu, İnci, İnanlı, Mehmet Akif, Hamamönü, and Sarıkadın. A large area of homes was destroyed to create the Mehmet Akif Ersoy Park. The park is 22,000 square meters and was created in 2010. It was named after the poet, Mehmet Akif Ersoy, who wrote the poem that would be the Turkish national anthem. The park also has on its grounds the Mehmet Akif house museum

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as well as the historic Taceddin Lodge[35]. As mentioned above, this occurred precisely as Istanbul was marketing itself to the ECoC and plans began to gentrify Sulukule and other low-socioeconomic neighborhoods of Istanbul. The terminology of "cleaning" was used in both cases to justify transforming these low-socioeconomic areas into arts and culture districts marketed to the pious Turkish bourgeoise and the international tourist, a powerful example of Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism's manipulation of Turkish public space.

CULTURAL CAPITAL AND NEOLIBERALISM IN THE HAMAMÖNÜ REDEVLOPMENT PROJECT

As in Istanbul's Sulukule neighborhood, the municipality exercised control over this tourist-led gentrification project; the use of "clean up" rhetoric was also employed here to justify the displacement of the original, low-socioeconomic residents of Hamamönü. In both cases

AK Party-led projects shifted cultural capital through the use of arts and culture programming that embodies the idealized vision of the Ottoman past projected by Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism. Much like Sulukule was gentrified for the ECoC, Hamamönü has been gentrified and boasts ample marketing material and signage that is in English, speaking to its focus on tourists and especially foreign tourists. On the main street alone there are eight billboards with marketing material describing Hamamönü's "restoration" in Turkish and in English. This marketing strategy highlights the neoliberal capitalistic exploitation of arts and culture for tourism at the core of the Hamamönü project. My experiences in Hamamönü during the summers of 2012 and 2013 did not witness large numbers of international visitors, but it was clear to me through interviews of the AK Party mayor and other Altındağ municipality figures that the neighborhood is very consciously marketed to a Western tourist audience.

Mayor Veysel Tiryaki was awarded the European Destination of Excellence[36] award in Brussels in 2011. This fact is brought up in almost every Altındağ publication I examined. It is important to note that by emphasizing this award, the municipality is using Europe as a measure of excellence. Not only does this usage of European standards constitute a type of self-Orientalizing, but it also reveals the

[35] Hamamönü 2011: 66.

[36] According to the project's website: "EDEN is the acronym for European Destinations of Excellence, a project promoting sustainable tourism development models across the European Union. The project is based on national competitions that take place every year and result in the selection of a tourist 'destination of excellence' for each participating country. Through the selection of destinations, EDEN effectively achieves the objective of drawing attention to the values, diversity and common features of European tourist destinations. It enhances the visibility of emerging European destinations, creates a platform for sharing good practices across Europe, and promotes networking between awarded destinations." See http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/sectors/tourism/eden/what-is-eden/index_en.htm.

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cultural capital at play with the restoration project and the political motives involved. It demonstrates that this restoration project is not just targeting pious Muslim Turkish visitors, but is attempting to attract international tourists as well. The Hamamönü project was also the recipient of the 2012 Golden Apple presented by FIJET (World Federation of Travel and Journalists). As one municipality brochure boasted: "With our restoration [p]roject, Hamamönü regained its touristic value, attracts international attention and became an award-winning destination in [the] global arena"[37].

In the process of its transformation into a space suitable for pious upper class Turkish visitors and international tourists, Hamamönü's complex residential and architectural heritage was reduced to a standardized and idealized vision of the Ottoman past. The neighborhood shifted from a location of actual historical preservation and experience to a space where the past is displayed in a sanitized and regularized environment: it was, in a sense, recreated as an open-air museum. In order to achieve this effect, the Hamamönü restoration included a designated "Art Street" that consists of 22 rebuilt Old Ankara Houses. It was part of the protocol between the municipality and Hacettepe University that the rebuilt homes be designated as an "Art Center." This feature of the project exemplifies the top-down nature of the entire undertaking: this arts and culture area did not emerge organically but was instead the project of a strategic plan designed and implemented by administrative officials. This arts district houses workshops where local artisants practice painting, water marbling (*ebru*), calligraphy, glass painting, leather crafts, jewelry making, ceramics, and other kinds of arts for exhibition and sale[38]. Besides Art Street, this district also features a newly constructed *konak* that houses the Altındağ Municipality Culture Art House. It features an open-air movie theater in its courtyard, a restaurant/café, and meeting and conference rooms.

In order to solidify its position as an arts and culture district, Hamamönü has also been trying to attract organizations that feature a mission oriented toward the arts and culture. Since the restoration, the city has created a Henna (*Kına*) Mansion for henna evenings, a pre-wedding traditional ceremony for brides in Turkey. The Henna Mansion is housed in an Altındağ Municipality-owned mansion that has been rebuilt in the "traditional" style of the Old Ankara Houses. Another Altındağ Municipality-owned and rebuilt mansion houses the Ankara Museum of Intangible Cultural Heritage (*Ankara Somut Olmayan Kültürel Miras Müzesi)* which is administered by Gazi University and displays objects and motifs related to Anatolian domestic and village culture.[39] Gazi University's museum is housed in a

[37] Hamamönü 2011: 57.

[38] Idem: 62.

[39] The UNESCO definition of "intangible cultural heritage" is: "traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts." See: http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00002.

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newly constructed mansion rent-free for the next twenty-five years, a deal struck in order encourage the growth and branding of Hamamönü as an arts and culture district. The museum opened its doors shortly before the Ramadan summer celebrations in 2013.

The Director of the Ankara Museum of Intangible Heritage, Çiğdem Şimşek, told me during our interview that the municipality provided them with rent-free housing because the museum brings prestige to Hamamönü and is a good way to advertise the neighborhood[40]. The museum itself is privately funded by Gazi University. It is the brainchild of Dr. Professor Öcal Oğuz, part of the literature faculty with a specialty in Turkish Folk Science. The museum has three full time staff members, and fifteen interns from Gazi University's master's program in Turkish Folklore were working at the museum during the academic year of 2013-2014. Şimşek told me that the museum is not geared for profit but instead is more focused on educational, culture and folk art outreach[41].

I sat across from Ms. Şimşek, who wears a headscarf, inside the museum. She was very willing to talk to me, as the museum was only just opened 60 days before and school was still out of session; the museum was therefore very quiet. She said once school resumed, classes were scheduled to come and tour the museum. She also commented on how during Ramadan the museum holds activities each night. It was the Ankara Museum of Intangible Cultural Heritage that conducted shadow puppet, felt puppet, and public storytelling shows on the main stage in the city center.

When I asked Şimşek to describe Hamamönü before the restoration project she stated that the neighborhood used to be dangerous but now [after the restoration] there are different people in Hamamönü. It really has changed drastically in her view. According to her, the profile of the people changed, more "quality" people, more educated people are now in Hamamönü[42]. She said that now when residents of Ankara are bored they come to Hamamönü, especially at *iftar* (Ramadan breaking of the fast). It is a place to escape the loud sounds of the city; people can come here to see the traditional houses[43]. She has known the area for the past six years, and she remarks that now, after the restoration, anyone visiting from outside Ankara immediately goes to Hamamönü for a coffee or for breakfast[44].

I asked Şimşek about the old owners of the property that now served as the location for the museum and the rebuilt *konak* that houses it. She said that it used to be an apartment building and some of the old tenants, as well as the previous owner often return to visit the area. She said that because the building houses a museum instead of a for-profit café or restaurant, the old owner is happy with the result. She

[40] Şimşek, 2013.
[41] Ibidem.
[42] Ibidem.
[43] Ibidem.
[44] Ibidem.

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said the previous owner has visited two to three times in the previous sixty days alone. The museum itself is, in fact, laid out much like a house museum. The rooms are decorated to resemble a traditional Anatolian village residential house. One room houses a shadow puppet theatre, and another room is reserved for staff offices; one other room is utilized as a conference room/library.

It is also interesting to note that a museum that glorifies Anatolian village life has been placed within the urban hub of the capital city. Elements of both urban and rural life are exhibited in the museum. As discussed earlier, however, the hybrid urban and rural culture that did actually once exist in Hamamönü was destroyed in the gentrification project of which this museum is a part. The residential life that is documented and exhibited within this museum is actually no longer present in Hamamönü itself; like the architectural legacy of the neighborhood, it has been rendered a mere museum piece and its complex presence in the real world has been scrubbed away. Residential life in the neighborhood has been effaced to make way for cultural and commercial enterprises meant to attract outside visitors.

HAMAMÖNÜ'S RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

Hamamönü is also one of the most popular places for Ankara residents to visit during Ramadan. During *iftar* people flock to Hamamönü to break the fast in one of the many restaurants that cater to this festive activity. The Altındağ municipality financially backs an elaborate Ramadan festival meant to cater specifically to the pious upper middle class demographic that frequents Hamamönü. During the festival a professional stage is erected in the neighborhood square and various types of live entertainment is performed each night starting at 8pm and lasting until midnight. These entertainment sources are family-friendly and attract pious Muslims that are the bedrock of AK Party religious and political platforms. Every evening thousands of people visit Hamamönü to break *iftar*, shop the street bazaar, and watch the programing that is put on by the Altındağ Municipality during the celebratory month. The 2013 tag line from the municipality regarding Ramadan was: "Hamamönü during Ramadan is a different kind of beauty." The stage was occupied nightly by Turkish folk music, shadow puppet shows of the old art of Karagöz, felt puppet shows, Alaturka music, public storytelling and performances by reed flutists, drummers, and whirling dervishes.[45]

Hamamönü also attracts pious Sunni Turks who wish to pray in some of the most historic mosques in Ankara. Beyond the late Ottoman Old Ankara Houses, Hamamönü is famous for its historic religious buildings and the municipality has tried to draw public attention to this existing religious heritage. These buildings have been restored with much more attention to detail and historical accuracy because they have been designated official historic landmarks and were usually

[45] Altındağ Ramadan Program 2013.

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restored by the Directorate General of Foundations (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*) or the Turkish Religious Foundation (*Türk Diyanet Vakfı*). These existing mosques include the Karacabey Mosque (built fourteenth and fifteenth century; restored 1964 and 1989) and the Taceddin Sultan Mosque commissioned by Süleyman the Magnificent (built sixteenth century; restored 1988 and 2008)[46]. The Taceddin Sultan mosque is currently located within the newly-constructed Mehmet Akif Ersoy Culture Park and includes a Bayramiye dervish graveyard to the south of the buildings[47]. The lodge that once belonged to the dervish order is now a museum in honor of the Turkish National Anthem writer, Mehmet Akif Ersoy[48].

Hamamönü's impressive collection of Ottoman-era mosques also includes Hacı Musa Mosque (built 1421), Sarıkadın Mosque (built seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), Mehmet Çelebi Mosque (built nineteenth century), Hacı Seyit Mosque (built fourteenth and fifteenth century), Hacı İlyas Mosque (built fifteenth century), Hacettepe Mosque (built 14th-15th centuries), and Yeşil Ahi Mosque (built fourteenth century). Most of these structures were restored by the Directorate General of Foundations (located within the Ministry of Culture's Department of Restoration) in the middle to late twentieth century or the opening decade of the twenty-first century. The contrast between these restoration efforts, coordinated from a department of the central government, and the speedy and historically insensitive "restoration" undertaken by the municipality is highly noteworthy.

REACTIONS TO THE PROJECT

Interlocutors within Hamamönü

It is a warm summer evening in Ankara during 2013. It is the month of Ramadan. In Hamamönü, the street bazaar for this celebratory month was abuzz with activity. People were selling handmade knitted objects, soups, rose perfumes, and Ottoman *bal* (honey) candy. I went to the *ev yemekleri* (restaurant that features home cooking) that I often frequented last summer. I remembered Eren Bey, the owner, and he recognized me as well. I ordered the house specialty, garlic mantı, and then Eren Bey sat down at my table and took my survey. I wrote down his answers. He reminded me of his life story: he had moved to Ankara alone at the age of fifteen and became a tailor. For thirty years he worked as a tailor in Hamamönü. He said that it was a horrid place before the restoration but now it was beautiful. He did mention that the municipality shut down his store and bulldozed it down but that now he is renting his *ev yemekleri* building from the municipality. He has a ten year contract that allows him to pay a minimal one thousand lira per year to rent the building that houses his family-run restaurant. He seems to be

[46] Historical Mosques in Hamamönü 5; 92.
[47] "Historical Mosques of Hamamönü" 21.
[48] Idem: 31.

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doing good business and he said that this restoration project "made his dreams come true". He has had the *ev yemekleri* for three years. He said that now in Hamamönü all the "bad people are gone" and that before it was a "scary place for women" and that the neighborhood was full of "drunks and drug addicts" ("Ethnographic Interviews Ankara"). He told me that there used to be a parking lot for Hacettepe University where his *ev yemekleri* is located now. Therefore the area where his *ev yemekleri* is located (a bit of a courtyard area off the main drag) is composed entirely of newly-constructed buildings, not historic restorations. I ordered tea and dessert and then after our survey/interview went to the bazaar to solicit more surveys from people.

When Eren gave me his business card, it showed that he was an official member of the AK Party; this might explain his overwhelming favoritism toward the restoration project and might suggest why he was able to secure such a tremendous deal on his restaurant rent. Eren Bey is one story, one voice. He stands as a representation of the local merchants in Hamamönü who have benefitted financially from the restoration. His political and religious mindset is in line with the ruling party in Hamamönü, the AK Party. During another visit to his restaurant, I mentioned how I noticed that the stores and restaurants in Hamamönü do not sell alcohol. It was pointed out to me, and later confirmed, that there were no bars in Hamamönü nor were their permits to sell alcohol in the area. This was a measure implemented by the AK Party. Eren Bey quoted in a serious and complementary fashion: "Erdoğan said our national drink was ayran (a salty yogurt drink)," and he waved his fist in the air to show his confirmation of the comment ("Ethnographic Interviews Ankara"). It is at Eren Bey's restaurant where people come to eat and drink countless glasses of Turkish tea. Ayran is also on the menu.

Many had only recently (in the last one month to one year) opened their restaurant or café in Hamamönü. Only two of the restaurant owners were not fully in support of the AK Party and the restoration project. One of the two told me that the rebuilt konaks were now owned by mostly AK Party politicians or "people close to the AK Party." He said that it was a case of insider dealing that allowed the AK Party-affiliated people priority on the rebuilt homes. I interviewed six original home owners; two had their homes expropriated and now live elsewhere but still come often to Hamamönü. One older woman told me that now she doesn't have any neighbors; her home is now surrounded by restaurants. She comes daily to the handicrafts bazaar and sits on the stoop.

I also interviewed former residents of Hamamönü. One shared theme in their interviews was that their homes were bought from the municipality for a small price and now they are enraged that it is selling for so much more after it has been restored. I found a select few residents remaining in Hamamönü. As described, the vast majority of the buildings are now restaurants, cafes, museums, or art boutiques. One family was very happy. They said that now the neighborhood was so much better. One could see that it would be helpful to not have ruined buildings surrounding their family home. Yet one older resident said that she now no longer

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has neighbors because her home is surrounded by cafes. These interviews suggested a more complex backstory, one that is not represented in the municipality brochures and books.

One café owner, Ahmet, had opened the café two months ago. He is renting the space for three thousand lira a month. He said the owner was involved with AK Party politics. He lives in Dikimevi, not a neighborhood in Altındağ. He said he chose Hamamönü because of its location near the Hacettepe campus, and the rent was cheaper than places in Kızılay or Çankaya. He implied that closeness to the AK Party played a major role in acquiring newly-built properties in the area. He estimated that seventy to eighty percent of the restored mansions in Hamamönü were owned by AK Party politicians or people close to the AK Party.

I spoke to four different men who felt they were unfairly treated in the restoration process. One man, Ufuk, told me that he was called every October for the last seven years by Hacettepe University to entice him to sell his home in Hamamönü on Sarıkadın street. At times the calls became threatening, saying that if he did not sell his home and take their offer they would pass a new law and have the home expropriated. He would respond back to the threats saying "I know my rights and Turkish law, see you in court." He was able to keep his home, and now its exterior has been restored by the Altındağ Municipality. He called the restoration by the Altındağ Municipality a "makyaj," ("make-up"), conjuring up the idea of the restoration being superficial and only temporary, a painted face. The inside has been restored with his own money but it was not completed in any sort of historical fashion. Instead, the home's walls were torn down from inside and rebuilt. It was livable but seemed very makeshift. He has now opened a restaurant. He said that he just started the business and so is not sure if it will be a success or not. During this past year's Ramadan the restaurant was very busy but he was concerned about its viability in the off-season. When I interviewed Ufuk his business was only twenty days old. Ufuk also told me he was a treasure hunter and that many Armenians and Balkan ethnic groups once lived in this area. According to him, when they were forced to leave they dug holes to bury their valuables. He looks for these valuables. He did not want to tell me of any of the "treasures" he has found. He believes that the Ankara Mayor, Melih Gökçek, is only interested in history and restoration to find these treasures ("Ethnographic Interviews Ankara").

Another man, Erol, I found daily at the same café in Hamamönü. He was in his early sixties. He ended up taking an offer from the Altındağ Municipality and selling his home in Hamamönü. He now says he regrets it because the municipality turned a large profit on the restored home. He is also upset with the fact that Hacettepe University has taken over the area. He played amateur soccer in 1954 and then joined the Hacettepe Sport Club, which is now nonexistent because of the restoration of the residential neighborhood called Hacettepe (it is next to Hamamönü). He mentioned how this neighborhood now entirely consists of a university campus. He mourns the loss of his sports club. Now he spends his days

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with his older friends hanging out at the café playing cards. He told me he was part of the SHP.[49]

Objections by Expert Organizations

The Directorate of Turkish Culture and Restoration exercises authority over all historic restorations in Turkey. Interestingly, as I spoke with officials in the Directorate in their Ankara office about the Hamamönü project, they did mention that it was their decision to allow the military barracks to be built on Gezi Park that ignited the protests, though there seemed to be some internal dissent with respect to the Directorate's public positions. One city planner told me that her official opinion differs from the Directorate's, but as it is her employer she cannot openly disagree. It seemed very clear that many of the city planners I was meeting with in that office held a similar opinion. They also, in private, told me that many people were not happy with Hamamönü's technical restoration. One city planner told me directly that because of this so-called restoration Hamamönü has lost all its historical significance.

The Ankara Council is a department of the Directorate of Culture and Restoration. They directly oversee the restoration projects of Altındağ Municipality. The municipality or private owners who want to do restoration in that area must allow their restoration plans to be analyzed by the Ankara Council. It is the Ankara Council that approves or denies restoration projects in Hamamönü. The city planner and architect I met with at the Ankara Council told me that the requirements they put in place for the Hamamönü restoration were that local materials, wood, and Ankara stone must be used. They said that initially they pushed for more restoration to be implemented but because of the state of the homes being so ruinous, most of the project became a tear-down and rebuild (reconstruction) project (about seventy percent). Overall, they described a great deal of friction between their organization and the desires of the municipality. Ultimately, the Ankara Council has oversight authority over the restoration process, but the municipality showed greater concern for cost or speed at the expense of historic preservation, which is the prime goal of the Ankara Council.

The Altındağ Municipality publications and website tag line suggests, "Altıdağ is Changing,"[50] and indeed, Hamamönü has changed. The massive overhaul of the municipality by expropriating the homes in the area, and restoring the exteriors of those that they did not buy outright, created a radical visual change within the neighborhood. Interestingly, the social reaction has been very positive. No protests occurred. But the expert community of architects from the Chamber of Architects of Ankara (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi) and architectural professors from the Middle Eastern Technical University did raise objections to the

[49] Social Democratic People's Party is a left-social democratic political party in Turkey that was formed in 2002 by former Ankara Mayor, Murat Karayalçın.

[50] http://www.hamamonu.com.tr/source.cms.docs/hamamonu.com.tr.ce/eng/index.html

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technical aspects of the so-called "restoration." In fact the majority of the neighborhood, over seventy percent as quoted to me by the Ankara Council, was torn down and rebuilt. Most existing original examples of the Old Ankara Houses were lost. The neighborhood transformed from a ninety-five percent residential population to a handful of residential homes with the original owners living in them. The majority of buildings are now restaurants, culture centers, or cafes. Hamamönü has changed, and though this change did not precipitate a popular outcry the way that the Gezi Park plan did, members of the local academic and professional communities affiliated with preservation and urban planning did react forcefully. As one architect, Elif, from the Directorate General of Foundations told me, "Because of Hamamönü's so-called restoration project, the area has lost all of its historic value;" that is the irony of this project" ("Ethnographic Interviews Ankara"). The Old Ankara Houses were not preserved but instead torn down and rebuilt. The interiors were not restored due to the speed and cost measures set by the municipality. Therefore a "quick fix" was chosen over a historically accurate restoration project.

The Chamber of Architects also expressed serious reservations about the "restoration" project in Hamamönü; the Chamber stands therefore as a counterpublic going against the architectural place being created by the Altındağ Municipality's version of Hamamönü. The Chamber is comprised of architects, architectural professors, all experts that have been cut out of the restoration process. As a result, they feel that the project was not executed in a way sensitive to the historic nature of the structures. My interlocutors at the Chamber also pointed out that restoration has only become popular in Turkey over the past decade and is therefore very underdeveloped. They routinely raise concerns about the fact that oversight of restorations is now being turned over to private owners and local municipalities, neither of which may have any actual expertise in or genuine concern for historical restoration.

CONCLUSION

An analysis of the case of Hamamönü demonstrates that the Altındağ Municipality has used its restoration project to inscribe the AK Party's vision of institutionalized Neo-Ottomanism and neoliberalism onto the urban space of Ankara, a process that epitomizes the spatial politics of Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism in contemporary Turkey. This project represents a shift in cultural capital in a key district of the Turkish capital away from traditional Kemalist visions of Turkish heritage and toward the use of Ottoman nostalgia that underpins the social vision of the pious Turkish Sunni Muslim bourgeoisie that forms the AK Party's basis of political support.

By marketing the "restored" neighborhood to both this pious AK Party constituency and the international tourist, this project is also meant to support the neoliberal economic program that is so central to the AK Party's platform. Instead

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of heeding the advice of the expert community and concerns about genuine historic restoration and sustainability, the project prioritized its economic goals and standardized and homogenized the architectural history of the neighborhood so that it better reflected the Neo-Ottoman historical imaginary than the complex reality of Ottoman architectural and social history.

The consequences of museumification and gentrification must also be explored as we think about who belongs and who is excluded in this newly rebuilt space. The impact of the project on the neighborhood's original inhabitants does not seem to have been seriously considered by the municipality. As with the Sulukule project in Istanbul, moralizing language was used to push the original inhabitants out of the space in order to reshape it to suit larger political and economic ends. This project is a clear example of how the AK Party utilizes public space to clearly project and embody their ideology by means of the visual landscape. This is the key dynamic of Erdoğanian Neo-Ottomanism.

The gentrification project in Hamamönü resulted in a dramatic loss of architectural history. The fabric of the community itself was also forever altered as the "cleaning up" rhetoric justified the displacement of the original population in favor of an entirely different economic and social demographic. This brings us to the situation that Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey ask: who has the right to the city? In Hamamönü's case, lower income residents and members of the *gecekondu* culture lost the right to this space as it was transferred over to groups whose interests better aligned with the political, social, economic, and ideological agendas of the Altındağ Municipality and the AK Party more generally. The neighborhood is marketed to pious Muslims, in this way we can analyze how this neighborhood fits into Islamic tourism, or halal tourism. As Islamic art has cultural capital attributed to it by its placement and designation as "art" over secular forms of art that have been deemed "handicraft," now that the neighborhood does not have liquor permits and now that this neighborhood has become the popular Ramadan destination in the capital we see the way the AK Party has made this space into a halal, Islamically correct, place.

I am left with the memory of one of my interlocutors, Necla, whom I decribed earlier as the woman sitting on a bench on one of the side streets of Hamamönü. She had a few shopping bags around here and resembled any other tourist spending the day in Hamamönü to shop. But when I sat next to her she was very talkative and let me know that she once lived here and had actually written a poem about Hamamönü. Once I had told her about my interest in the Ottoman architecture of the neighborhood she told me that she used to live in Hamamönü and that it had such a warm, *samimi* culture. Her full name was Necla Songür[51]. She told me she was fifty-three years old and had graduated from high school. She said she was an AK Party supporter and that the "AK Party made Turkey better". She also told me

[51] She gave me permission to use her name for the interview and she wanted me of course to cite her as author of her poem which I have translated in this article from Turkish to English.

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that *gecekondu* life was *samimi* and that she remembers it fondly. She had nothing negative to say about the Hamamönü from before, despite her overall support for the AK Party. She then proudly told me she had a written a poem in 1987 about her childhood in this neighborhood and that she had memorized it. I asked her to write it down for me. It was titled *Eski Ankara Evleri* [Old Ankara Houses]:

Kormı yağıyor eski Ankara Evlerinin damına,	*(It) is raining on the roofs of the Old Ankara houses*
Arnavut kaldırımlı dar sokaklarına	*On the narrow streets of Albanian stone*
Elinde çıngırağ, omuzunda yoğurt helkeleri yaşlı yoğurtçunun üzerine.	*On top of the old yogurt seller with a bell in his hand and baskets of yogurt on his shoulder.*
Ne esrorengiz ne gizemlidir	*How mysterious and how secret*
O ahşap evler.	*Are these wooden houses.*
Bilmiyorum kaç Asren hatirasını taşır.	*I do not know the memory of how many ages they carry*
Avlu kapısı açılır kuyulu bahçeye	*The courtyard door is open to the garden with a well*
Her karesi bin hatira taşır.	*Every bit of it carries a thousand memories.*
Bir hülya daldım yine derinden	*I dove again into a daydream from far away*
İşte ablalarım, kardeşlerim.	*O my sisters, O my brothers*
İşte ip atlayıp, saklambaç oynadığım sokaklar.	*O the streets where we jumped rope and played hide and seek.*
Bana maziyi fısıldıyorsunuz birer birer.	*You are whispering the past to me, each of you.*
Yıllar sonra gittim o mahalleye	*Years later I went to that neighborhood*
Eski bir komşu, bir tanıdık Bulurum diye	*Saying to myself I will find an old neighbor, an old acquaintance*
Ne o komşular kalmış, ne o mahalle.	*Neither those neighbors nor that neighborhood remained.*
Bir varmış bir yokmuş	*Once upon a time*
Masal misali, kaybolup gitmişler	*An example of a fairytale, they were lost and gone*
Hayal misali.	*An example of a dream.*

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MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN KUT, THE KOREAN SHAMANIC RITUAL

PÁL KOUDELA, JINIL YOO

ABSTRACT

In a *kut* (the Korean shamanic ritual), music represents the most important part, and functions indifferent ways. It helps the *mudang* (the Korean shaman) to reach a trance state and triggers clients to different moods, but its role as entertainment is constantly increasing within the last decades. Music of kut represents a complex world: musicians in the mudang family, institution of musical education, advocacy and organization. In this essay we are going to set next to each other those elements of this musical world from ritual to amusement which can characterize it as a whole, but it also includes regional differences of instruments, rhythms and melodies. In kut mostly percussion and wind instruments play the most consistent role, but string instruments can be found too. There are musicians, called *aksas*, who create ensembles especially for a kut, but a hereditary mudang herself is a musician, having the ability to play many instruments, sings and conducts the accompanying orchestra. A shaman is a professional musician, who represents a feature that is particular to Korean shamanism.

Keywords: Shamanic music, Mudang, Sanjo, Kut.

1. INTRODUCTION

Korean Shamanism has a special role in folk music. The hereditary *mudang* (one of the two basic kinds of shamans in Korea) families have been long committed to music and created a traditional musician-priest proficiency since its origin, in the era of The Three Kingdoms. Thus only the Korean mudang is a professional musician among shamans around the world. In addition shamanic rituals have a prominent role in contemporary South Korean society, as its importance grows within the increasingly modern circumstances. As getting more involved in modern life, the musical features have changed and the whole structure of ritual musical traditions have transformed.[1] The Kut, the shamanic ritual, is

[1] Park, Mikyung 2011: 231–261.

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especially permeated with music as being maybe the most important part of the ritual. For these reasons, relationships between form of musical expression and shamanism as folklore are very important, but despite the long past of development in these relations, features of shamanic music are not homogenous in the peninsula. Characteristics in performance, rhythm, scales and tempos can be divided into five separate regions. According to the long development of such cultural phenomena, regional differences evolved through the century-old history of the whole peninsula, but due to the strong ban on any religious activity in the North, shamanism decreased there, and shamans fled to the South. As a consequence, very few fieldwork were carried out both in the north-western region and in the western part of the east coast region in the last decades, thus regional characteristics for the mentioned parts of the peninsula come from the collections of shamanic rituals, performed by northern refugee shamans in the southern regions. In the following we are going to connect ethnological and musicological approaches in an overview of the features of Korean shamanic music.

Mudang is the name of Korean shamans, among whom we can find two basically different types of religious agents: on the one hand, there are the shamans born into families traditionally dedicated to religion, and whom are called *sesŭmmu*. They have received musical education since their childhood, learn to play different instruments, sing and in most cases other, non-religious professional musicians, called *aksas*, take part in the kut. However, a sesŭmmu can individually manage a full performance. On the other hand, there are mudangs, who have become spiritually involved into shamanism. They go through a selection process, contesting their abilities, and they are called *kangshinmu*. They mostly lack musical skills and knowledge which would make them be able to independently perform a kut.

A mudang is mostly female and shamanism in Korea is an ancient religion that appeared far before the arrival of Buddhism. Though there are a kind of syncretism in the progress or adaptation of shamanism to changing environment during the long centuries since the Three Kingdoms Period. The originally dominated male shamans have not disappeared and some Buddhist elements have been integrated into it, thus in the southern area of Korea those male mudangs, called *beopsa*[2] featuring spirits with Buddhist origins, often chant long incantations to scare evil spirits away. These incantations, called *gyeong*, usually contain Buddhist scripts, are called *dokgyeong* and are accompanied by the wooden gong used by Buddhist monks. As a result of the melting intention of different traditions, these incantations are sung sometimes in a similar tone to the Confucian rituals' chants. The original meaning of gyeong is scripture, due to the Buddhist sutras or the Confucian classics, but lost its original philosophical context, and became tools for exorcism by their attributed magic power. Syncretism is also fed from Taoism

[2] Originally blind male shamans, called *pansu*, sung these incantations.

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during the Silla period, inasmuch scripts derived from there too.[3] Other types of mudangslike male shamans in Korea are rare.

Akutimplies a wide range of different spiritual performances. Its core idea is basically the same as every shamanic ritual: to connect participants with deities in their residential place, notably the sky. The process enforces to maintain a good relationship between humans and gods,[4] but this is important to mention that a kut is a human oriented ceremony. Its major purpose is to achieve happiness and evaluate the values of harmony embedded in a tripartite view of the world.[5]

A kut has many apparent characteristics, like color symbolism. Dark colors are usually avoided, for instance, and bright colors are used instead; each color represents a spirit. Food and drink also play an important role in Korean shamanic rituals, representing feasts for participants. Life sacrifices were present in the past, but gradually disappeared own to the influence of Buddhism. The most important part of a kut, nevertheless, is music. Music creates its liveliest element, music is the base of dance: making alive spiritual relationship between earthly and eternal spheres.

2. MUSICAL TOOL IN A KUT

2.1. *Instruments*

Music has different basic roles in performing a kut: it helps mudangs to reach ecstatic state or trance, but also creates different moods for participants, and a kut becomes a cathartic session as each part of it has its adequate musical enforcement. From this viewpoint differences in music appear in its core performer characteristics and serve different functions, thus it can be divided roughly into the following types. The first type is instrumental music, which is performed by the mudang and professional musicians (aksas). The second type is vocal music, basically called *muga*, which is a broader functional group, compiled from long epic songs or myths recited in monotonous tunes. The subtypes: *taryeong*, the hilarious songs, the ritual chanting of evocation, and the *gyeong*, are the only ones which show Buddhist influence among chanting sutras.

From this functional aspect, instrumental music in a kut – accompanying dance –, dialogues and all vocal music related to Korean shamanism is fundamentally different from those in Japanese rituals. In ancient Japanese shamanism instrumental music served the calling of the spirits of the dead,[6] but in a kut it functions as an instrument of aiding the mudang into ecstasy and supports other

[3] Kim Hogarth 2009: 80.
[4] Eliade 1964.
[5] Kim Hogarth 2009: 54–55.
[6] Sasamori 1993: 83–93.

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participants to reach different moods. For this reason, and counter to the slow and quiet Confucian official music, loud percussion dominates in a kut: the *janggu*, a double-sided, sand glass shaped drum and the *jegeum*, a brass cymbal – in the area of Seoul – are the most typical among other instruments. All sesŭmmus can play these instruments, thus a kut can be conducted in any circumstances.[7] In other areas percussions like barrel drums, called the *buk*, small drums, called the *sogo*, and various gongs are also present. The latter instruments are dominant especially in agrarian communities and are represented in community kuts. The effect of folk music and the rural community kut is clearly found in the faster and fiercer style of playing the drums during provincial kut performances compared to the smoother style of Seoul kuts, which are rather influenced by the more refined court music.[8]

Picture 1. Young shaman student is studying to play the Buk. She decided to be a kangshinmu four months earlier, after her body was possessed by a spirit (sinnaerim) in the high school.

But there are very different functions of every kind of instrument, which contributesto akut. Kim Hogarth writes about a rare instrument, called *jeongju*, usually practiced on the southern island of Jindo. This is a tiny brass bowl-shaped percussion with an attached string, which is beaten with a deer-horn stick. This instrument is renowned as the one mostly used for the kut of Buddha and of the Harvest Spirit. The bowl-like part of the instrument represents the rice harvest and the deer symbolizes the flight up to heaven, which proved to be a kind of

[7] Lee, Yong-Shik 2004.
[8] Kim, Hey-jung 2014.

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syncretism of Siberian shamanism, Korean worship of Heaven and Buddhism.[9] From another perspective the role of frenzying percussion instruments is the only tool for a mudang to achieve trance supplanting drugs or hallucinogens used in other societies' rituals.[10] In addition, loud music or the loud noise induced by instruments is commonly believed to keep away malignant spirits both in shamanism as a religion andin East-Asian cultures in general.[11]

Nevertheless, percussive sound is also for the clients – or any participants, because in larger kuts many non-participants watch the performance from the outside without invitation – loud music benefits tobuild-up the needed suspense. The audience usually believes that crashing sounds invoke – and later expel – spirits, but we cannot exclude the effect how an excessive noise makes almost impossible for participants to think of anything else but the sounds and movements of the present moment, opening doors to transform the ritual and the sanctuary into a happening space. Inviting spirits in general usually leads to undesired consequences: the arrival of malignant ghosts, thus the mudang has to purify the ritual place periodically. The sesŭmmuor her employed musicians used to play a specific rhythm for this purpose. The fast 4/4 rhythm, called *sajapuri* – central to all exorcistic moments in East Coast shaman rituals – consists 'long, long, short, short, long' note durations respectively. The rhythm, played vigorously with strong accents on the first two beats, is considered an effective tool to oust the ghosts.[12]

Along with percussions, various woodwind instruments play a role in a kut; at least three different types of pipes are present. The small sized *piri* has eight holes on its bamboo body, and considered the most popular wind instrument in a kut. It contributes to make music louder with its sharp sound. This pipe is built up of three or four parts: the construction contributes to a wide scale of sonority and versatility. Seven of the eight holes are on the front side and one is on the back used by the thumb. *Hyangpiri*, *Se piri*, *Dang piri*, and *Daepiri*are the four basic types according to the style of the music, but this ispossibleto construct different piri instruments by combining and splicing different parts, among their two most important sections: the double reed and the stopped-cylindrical pipe.[13] The *danso*, a vertical flute with five holes is also popular in kuts. This instrument produces clear and tranquil sounds. Its end-blown bamboo body is notched and today sometimes made of plastic instead of the traditional bamboo. It has four finger holes on its front side and one thumb hole at the back, and the playing range extends to two octaves, going from low G to high G.[14] The *daegeum* is the third major type of

[9] Kim Hogarth 2009: 72–73.
[10] Diószegi 1998: 46–47.
[11] Pettid 2009: 1–13. and Mills 2010: 145–170.
[12] Mills 2012: 149–151.
[13] Nam et.al. 2014: 65–69.
[14] Im 1984.

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pipes used during a kut. The transverse flute is played sideways and has two large and six smaller holes; this is the most refined instrument of the mentioned three and because of its complexity maybe less popular than a piri, but even more usual than a danso. Its humming membrane has a special ringing overtone. This is worth to mention that most of bamboo instruments, just like a daegeum, are used not only in a kut, but as spiritual tools for healing in many other different contexts too.[15]

There is a much less frequent fourth wind instrument, the *taepyeongso*, used forkut rituals. This isa double reed wind instrument of Chinese originin the shawm family with a playful vivid sound. Its conic body is made of lemon-tree or yellow mulberry wood, but its mouth-piece and bell is made of metal. This instrument is, however, not an everyday piece in a kut, but mostly occurs during simultaneously held kuts and even then often switches to the more preferred piri. However, playing in a big orchestra, apiri player sometimes replaces its usual instrument with a taepyeongso to achieve louder and more piercing sound, which helps the other musicians to follow him.[16] Thus these loud instruments are played only during large-scale rituals, because mudangs often consider it as supporting festivals rather than rituals. Neither is a Taepyeong so included in the *sinawi*[17] chamber ensemble, it is traditionally accompanied by the mudang during a kut. This orchestra mostly consists of two flutes, a haegeum, a daegeum, a janggu and a large buk drum,[18] and a taepyeongso appears only in the southwestern Jeolla region.[19]

Stringed instruments are less frequent in a kut, but at least two types can be mentioned. The more common in use is a haegeum, a small fiddle with only two strings, accompanied mostly with apiri and a daegeum. It has a lugubrious, heart-rending sound and constructed of a thin, wand looking neck and a hollow sound-box, both made of wood, while the two strings are made of silk. Among these core materials many others are used for building a haegeum like gold, rock, bamboo, pumpkin, soil and leather. The instrument is played with a bow, sitting in half lotus on the floor as the others, but keeping it vertically on the knee.[20] The other, called the *ajaeng* is a large, zither-like instrument with eight silk strings, laying on the knees and played by a thin forsythia stick instead of, but in the manner of a bow and also pizzicato. This instrument of Chinese origin has a deep and rough sound, but very rare in akut, only used for background music for the parts of the ritual featuring ancestors. This music is full of pathos and often brings tears to the eyes.[21]

[15] Kim, Young Mi 2014: 207–213.

[16] Seo, Maria 2002: 130.

[17] Sinawi means the basic genre of a kut and the most typical orchestra composition at the same time.

[18] Lee, Yong-Shik 2004: 60–62.

[19] Pratt 1987: 47.

[20] Lee, Hae-Sik 2005.

[21] Kim Hogarth 2009: 74.

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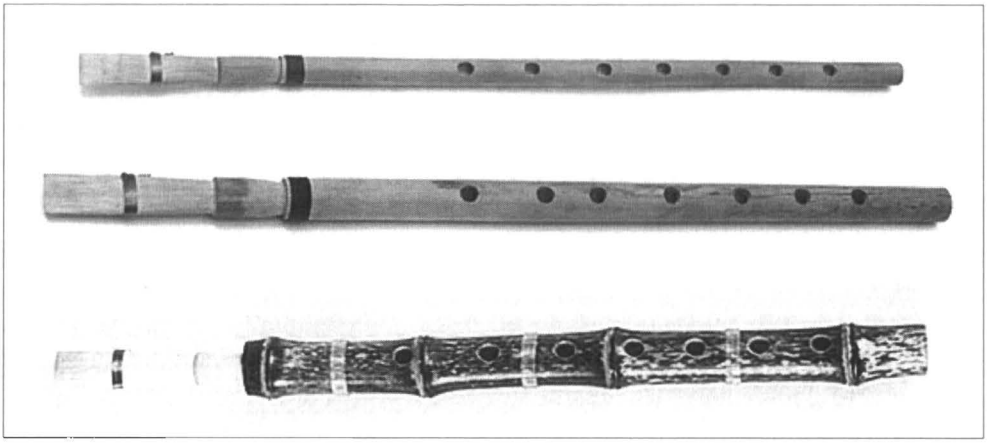

Picture 2. Se piri, Hyangpiri, Dang piri (from top to bottom).

2.2. *Vocal Performance in a Kut*

As each mentioned instrument can be found in folk music, so canfolk music genres be overlapped byshamanic music. In addition, despite the relevance of the different instruments used in a kut, the most important is the mudang's voice, thus the most important musical genre in a kut is a *muga*, the shaman's song. Muga is a generic term for different vocal music appearing in a kut and in a functional way it can be divided into four basic types. Reciting is the most important in a kut, especially in the southern area as long as creation myths and epic poems about history, roles and even evocation of the spirits are performed by that. The Mudang sings sometimes more than three hours in a monotonous tune, accompanied herself only by the drums. Long bibliographical songs function also as evocation of spirits, mostly by sesŭmmu in the south, who lack spiritual force. Around Seoul, where kangshinmus are widespread, long epic songs are less frequent. The only one worth to mention is the*malmi-geori* mourning ritual – the 13th of the 16 early shaman rituals –, the Ballad of Bari Gongju[22], the Abandoned Princess in *jinogi* kut, performed in mortuary. The mudang is reciting the story for an hour, accompanying herself with a brass bell in her left and a jangguinher right hand.[23] Ritual chanting is very similar to reciting, as long as some parts of kuts like the purification ritual *Cho bujeong* or the invitation ritual *Gamanggeori* have parts sung monotonously accompanied by drums. Nevertheless, they are more useful to separate into independent categories, because there are no pre-arranged notes and the mudang is varying tunes, tempo and words whilereciting.

[22] Bari Gongju or Paritegi was the first female shaman according to the Korean Mythology, thus she became the patron of all shamans.

[23] Seo, Dae-seok 1999: 92–95.

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Both tunes and verses are variable in epic poems and myths, and mudangs often add or omit parts to lengthen or shorten the ritual. In the southern regions of Korea these songs evolved to an independent folk opera genre, called *pansori*. Inspite of the high spiritual importance of vocalization, singing melodic songs in a kut serves only as entertainment. The interesting contradiction is that in kangshinmu'skut the mudang's singing is the "spirits' entertaining" for the audience, while participating men and women never sing for entertaining. In case of blessing songs – the other main cause for singing – they sing to find way to the spirits' heart, and that gives a chance for singers to enjoy themselves and singing. Eventually taryeong, the melodic shaman ballad becomes entertainment for both participants and creates harmony. Taryeong has derived from traditional folk songs and is strophic in structure and organized into verses and refrains.

3. FORMS OF EXPRESSIONS

3.1. *Muga*

A Mudang is an entertainer. Although akut is primarily a spiritual ritual, mainly for offerings to spirits to ask their support or a shelter, since clients' need for entertainment has always been very high, mudangs have become entertainers too. Muga, the collective name for sacred songs in kut, is weakly standardized and full of improvisations. Also lyrics and librettos are written only as an effort to collect them since the beginning of the 20th century. But neither could it alter the intentional elements to entertain and mediate between spirits and people, nor could script overwrite music even today. This is appreciable in a phenomenon of rhythm, and beat affects the rhyme and meter of the verse. Improvisation and its features do not derive directly from written muga.[24]

Nevertheless, muga is more than a collection of some structural and formal rules: hence muga unifies Korean people's view of gods, cosmos, spirits, philosophy and existence, this supplements holy scripts in Korean shamanism.[25] For this reason, the matching of structural form of verses and music is exceptionally important. The majority of lines of verses are divided into two parts, and each of them can be divided into 6 syllables,[26] while two lines create a couplet. The style of performances doesn't vary much in different kuts, and melodies are not distinguished according to the content. The rhythmic cycle follows the typical Korean folksong structure, hence a slow, soft initial phase is followed by an increase in tempo and volume, and based on the consecutive four-syllable rhythm of the verses. For this recitative reason, stories lack omission of episodes, and the content is comprised of the same story repeated regularly. This phenomenon is

[24] Ware 1991: 143.
[25] Kim, Taegon 2006: 89.
[26] Park, Mikyung 1996: 88.

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linked mostly to religiosity and sacredness,[27] but also has a structural function to maintain the connection between the rhythm of the text and music. Muga is built up of three main parts: introduction, narration and prayer, and this structure overlaps the three-stage structure and expresses the kut itself compressed.

The *ch'ŏngbomuga* clearly expresses these connections between musical structure and spiritual function of a kut through verbalization. This 13 minutes length invitational song of the *donghaean*[28] sesŭmmu is a kind of overture during a kut. The main melody, sung by the mudang, has a five-part texture and includes also a counter-melody of the janggu player accompanied by three percussion lines: ajanggu, small gongs, a *kengari* and a *para* and the third line of a large gong, called *jing*. Each part of the four-section structure of this muga have 10 beatsrhythmic cycle, and all sections are performed antiphonally between singing and percussive playing. While the singing part has a strophic form, on every 6thbeat of each 10-beat cyclesthe jing comes in and each part follows a decreasing length consequently.[29]

3.2. *Genres Used in a Kut*

While muga stands alone for expressing vocal domination of the kut, this is even very difficult to separate professional and amateur or religious and profane in Korean folk music. From an ethnomusicological perspective these categories are not distinct, inasmuch mudangs are musicians themselves and sesŭmmus also often have musician husbands employed in their shrines. As all instruments used in a kut derived from agrarian communities and from folk music, so the genres of sacral music originate from this broader musical context and have overlaps between them. Probably the most popular of those folk music genres used in shamanic rituals is *sanjo*. The genre appeared first in its contemporary form in the 1880s, invented by the aristocrat Kim Changjo from Yeongam County, South Jeolla, and has become popular since the 1920s. Today the genre is part of the Important Intangible Cultural Properties 16, 23 and 45, for geomungosanjo, gayageumsanjo, proclaimed between 1960-69, and daegeumsanjo, proclaimed after 1970.[30] Despite sanjo's literally meaning is scattered melodies and Korean musicologists considered its original meaning loosely organized melodies, it is characterized by extended and careful organization.[31]

Although it varies according to musicians and situations, basic characteristics are the very slow tempo of *jinyangjo* rhythm at the beginning, continuously repeating an 18/8 rhythmic cycle. The originally tuning and adjustment section, the

[27] Kim, Joonki 1994: 117–138.
[28] Donghae is a city in Gangwon Province, South Korea.
[29] Park, Mikyung 2009: 35–68.
[30] Howard 2006: 49–80.
[31] Howard 2007: 128.

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non-metrical *daseureum* is the foremost and then the speeding up and crescendo lasts to the end. This constant accelerando triggers enthusiasm in the audience and is common in Korean folk music.[32] Enhancement consists of different complicated meters and rhythmic cycles following each other. They are the moderato *jungmori* of 12/4 beats, the allegro *jungjungmori* of 12/8 beats and the presto *jajinmori* of 12/8 beats. Other rhythmic cycles can substitute the middle part like *gutgeori* of 6/8+6/8 beats, *hwimori* of 12/8 beats and *eonmori* of 5/8+5/8 beats. The finale is usually the repeating of hwimori but in a 4/4 pattern and its tempo is prestissimo. An instrumental solo is always accompanied with janggu, while the drummer regularly makes exclamations, called *chuimsae* in order to please the audience. The original leading instrument was a 12-stringed plucked long zither, called *gayageum*, but today almost every folk instrument is played in this genre like the *geomungo*, the 6-stringed plucked zyther, the daegeum, the haegeum, the piri, the taepyeongso, the ajaeng and the danso. Numerous school scan be separated according to the style of the leading musician. The variations of tempo, meter and tune express the contrast between tension and relaxation. Since it has no fixed content or title, and its length varies between forty and sixty minutes, it is considered absolute music. [33] Students studying sanjo often learn from more masters and can expand their knowledge and adjust what they have learnt.

As it is explained above about its origin, regional folk music characterizes contemporary sanjo not only in the southern areas, but even in North Korea. Especially those slow rhythm overtures like jinyangjo and *gyemyeonjo* in a restricted way, but melodic ornamentation has also derived from Jeolla music. For example, the famed shaman ritual musician and founder of daegumsanjo, Park Jonggi, who established many different schools with the passage of time, was born in Jindo, southwest Jeolla. These sanjos incorporate many similar tunes inspite of the differences in their forms. While Park-created tunes predominated contemporary sanjo, during the following decades standardization and the verticality and rigidity in various schools occurred and improvisation decreased in the broader sense of folk music genre of sanjo.[34]

The genre, derived from Jeolla folk music's sounds and musical structures, is dominated by gyemyeonjo mode, related to pansori.However, Howard considers two other modes to be characteristic: the grand and magnanimous*ujo* with the pentatonic scale of a-c-d-e-g and the more everyday *pyeongjo* with the pentatonic scale of g-a-c-d-f.[35] The gyemyeonjo is typically a song in the slow six-beat 18/8 jinyangjo rhythmic cycle within the major musical genre of the kut and thesinawi. In its tonal supply of five pitches (g, a, c, d, e,) g is the dominant and c is the tonic

[32] So 2002: 37.
[33] Heungsub 2007: 93.
[34] Park, Hwan Yeong 2010: 65–114.
[35] Howard, 2006, 133.

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and sounds pretty similar to a minor scale.[36] The central tone is played *boncheong*, which means vibrato, but a lower trembling tone has primacy, which functions as dominant. There is also a third, breaking tone, which makes fall in pitch leading back to the central tone. The upper tone is like an appoggiatura and can be pitched from one semitone to a minor third higher; the breaking tone has two components, a short grace note one half step below, and struck at the same time almost exactly like a high acciaccatura and a low resolving tone and a fast glissando is usually used to linkthem.[37] The melancholic gyemyeonjo has little ornamentation, but can be characterized by in-betweenness, while often preceding modulation.

Sinawi is the basic musical genre of a kut, but the ensemble, playing in a kut is also named like this. This genre is originated from the southern regions and is used to accompany shamanic dances and recitals, but also fills intermezzos, while the mudang rests or prepares altars for offerings. The widespread sinawi is built up of different and variable melodic motifs and cells in adequate rhythmic cycles, thus gives space to variations, counter-melodies and improvisation. Its content is differentiated by regions,[38] but always set in a pentatonic modal frame. Rhythmic cycles like the medium- and rapid-paced *salp'uri* of 6/8+6/8 beats,*dosalpuri* of 6/4 beats and *Deongdeo-gungi* of 12/8beats are present in sinawi played in a kut. The more the variations of motives are the better the music is considered by clients, thus musicians' creativity is highly involved and needed. Only strict rhythmic cycles and their modal configuration curbs impromptu, but during a kut each musician have their own set of melodies they can vary, and the ensemble seeks to sound more like one entity then to a composition of different individuals. Musicians usually agree on the sequence of jangdan, the rhythmic cycle, before the performance.

In sinawi each instrument plays the individual variation of the same melodic line imitating each other simultaneously, emphasized by the different sonority of each instrument. The relation between the singer and the instruments, playing melodic lines tends to be heterophonic, linear and aharmonic.[39] While sinawi is a complex performance for shamanic orchestral music, other genres are part of the whole performance. Salp'uri, for instance, is an exorcism song and dance at the climax of the kut, performed by the mudang. The salp'uri is based on a special rhythmic cycle *kutkŏri* of 12/8 beats.[40] During the performance tempo accelerates to a faster rhythm shinmyŏng and goes back to the original kutkŏri at the end. Salp'urihas developed independently from sinawi and has become a profane performance today, but also remained preserved in kut.[41] Kutkŏri is a rhythmic cycle

[36] Hahn 1990: 189.
[37] Daeung 2003
[38] Lee, Yong-Shik 2006.
[39] Malm 1996: 213.
[40] Kim, Unmi 2012.
[41] Kim, Malborg 2005).

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of the *changdan* rhythmic pattern family characterizing the whole Korean folk music dictating meter, internal stress and accent organization. Certainly even in kutkŏri there are regional differences: in the area of Seoul the widespread 12/8 beats are substituted by the two distinct 6/8 halves, beginning with a solid downbeat and with an accented strike halfway in the following. This functions as an upbeat pattern and as a code for musicians establishing an extemporization model.[42]

Picture 3. Sinawi performance in the Swan Concert Hall, Andong Culture and Art Center, November 08, 2011.

4. THE MUDANG AS A MUSICIAN AND THE AKSA

The mudang is always a competent musician, since the kut would be unfeasible without it. They play numerous instruments, sing very well and have great abilities for improvisation, according to the sudden situations – participants' wishes, for instance – during a kut. While sesŭmmu is born into a shaman family, she only becomes a mudang when she gets married. They learn practice from their mother and after the wedding from their mother-in-law. Today a kutis becoming more and more popular especially in big cities like Seoul and mudangs receive high income, which makes a kut very attractive for professional musicians to become an aksa.[43] While a sesŭmmu herself is a musician, a kangshinmu must employ an aksa to help her reaching a trance state. Percussion instruments function mostly like in akut, playing repeated pulses or simple rhythms loudly and for long periods. The

[42] Howard 1993: 601–642.
[43] Kim Hogarth 2009: 74.

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mudang repeats schematic movements: spinning around or bouncing up and down meanwhile, but also makes gestures for or shouts out instructions for the musicians to fasten or slow the tempo for instance.[44]

Mudangs not only perform rituals, dramas, invoke spirits or heal clients, but also lead them through varied programs in a thorough manner. For instance, mudangs sing popular songs too during the rituals to entertain the clients or a larger audience. These complex happenings can keep for hours to days and music helps to establish structure. It signals the beginnings and ends of sections, and attributes successive sections with different moods. Most exquisite musicians are in ensembles employed by a sesŭmmu, bearing an excellent knowledge of contrasting rhythms generally including gutgeori, jajinmori, hwimori and some profane backing rhythms, used to accompany karaoke-like episodes. We mentioned earlier that mudangs are healers and their contribution's popularity is increasing in contemporary Korean society. Actually the whole kut has a kind of healing function – among direct asks, wishes and helps – by reducing anger and sorrow with psychotherapeutic techniques. This effort is highly enhanced by music, while the mudang encourages people to geton their feet, dance and sing their favorite songs.[45] This might seem as something retrograde and obsolete due to the modern scientific knowledge of psychiatry, but this latter as a practice is new in Korean society, where we find the highest rate of suicide among the developed countries. As long as those 3005 psychiatrists and 75,000 psychiatric beds[46] do not function properly, such demand for shamanism and shamanic music remains lively.[47]

We mentioned by descripting the multiple importance of the muga that relations between text and music goes beyond the necessary connectedness of contents. Visuality has a similar role in Korean folk music performances in general, contemporary *kugak* (a general name for such performances) should follow through acoustically on the visual framing.[48] Visual aspects of these performances give socio-cultural frames to musical content, structure these meanings, thus music performances receive embodied activity.[49]A mudang has even more responsibility to improve this combined effect in a kut, since her main scope is to display the meeting of two different socio-cultural dimensions: the worldly and afterlife reality. Mudangs' musical proficiency helps to generate feelings of divine presence, and social enthusiasm brings the dead, living creatures, and gods together.

When a son is born into a shaman family, he is acquainted the music in his "mother's womb". He lastly becomes a musician, who accompanies his wife's ritual. A mudang, despite being a multiple artist and having a musician husband, employs professional musicians, aksas; as the number of musicians is not fixed,

[44] Walraven 2009: 75–76.
[45] Mills 2012: 44.
[46] Park, JI, KY Oh and YC. Chung 2013: 186–190.
[47] Lee, Ho Young 2004: 13–19.
[48] Finchum-Sung 2012: 396–425.
[49] Leppert 1993: 22.

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their presence is sometimes only additional. This is a production oriented cooperation[50] and aksas have the responsibility for some post-production, like burning the paper decoration, too. Since the whole kut functions in a multiple way, this is not surprising that it is often followed by pansori performances played by the same aksa musicians. Pansori is a musical genre with narratives, called aniri accompanied with mimic gestures and performed by a vocalist, called *sorikkun*. As long as aksa is the family member or even a husband in the mudang's household, his responsibility extends to support musical education of new generations among his children. They also apply a formal social organization of musicians in Korea in terms of shamanism contributing their advocacy. Aksas' duty is to maintain musical, but also shamanic tradition: music, functioning as a social support, tends to strengthen self-esteem too.[51]

5. REGIONS

It was mentioned many times above that shamanic music can be elaborated by regional differences characterizing them in many ways. The broader areas of different musical features, like their idioms and the accompanying instruments, are the Northwestern shamanic music, the Midwestern shamanic music, the Southwestern shamanic music, the Eastern shamanic music and the Jejushamanic music. The first two are performed mostly by akangshinmu, while the rest by a sesŭmmu.[52]

The Northwestern shamanic musicfeatures janggu, jing, and jegeum and functions mainly to support a kangshinmu to reach trance state,whilethe role of percussions is central. For larger performances musicians play blow instruments like a piri, and less frequently the louder taepyeongsois used. The songs of this area can be characterized by an anhemitonic pentatonic scale of sol-la-do'-re'-mi', which scale can be found usually in the broader folk genres too. Their tempo is various, but always come with the 12/8 beat rhythm. The oldest Korean rhythmic structure of the asymmetrical rhythm of ten beats in the sequence 2+3+2+3 is preserved here in spiritual songs.[53]

In the Midwestern region aksas are more frequently employed and melodic instruments like a piri, a daegeum and a haegeum are also used more often. This ensemble of the mentioned instruments accompanied by a janggu and a jing originates in the 18th century, when it was largely influenced by court music. For this reason it is named even today after its original, but today not valid composition: the *samhyeonyukgak*, which means literally three strings and six winds. Scale, rhythm and tempo in songs are similar to the songs of the Northwestern region, but rhythm sometimes vary from the complex combination of five to eight beats.[54]

[50] Atkinson 1989: 14.
[51] Yi 2011: 179-207.
[52] Yun 2010: 99-125.
[53] Lee, Yong-Shik 2007: 165.
[54] Idem: 166.

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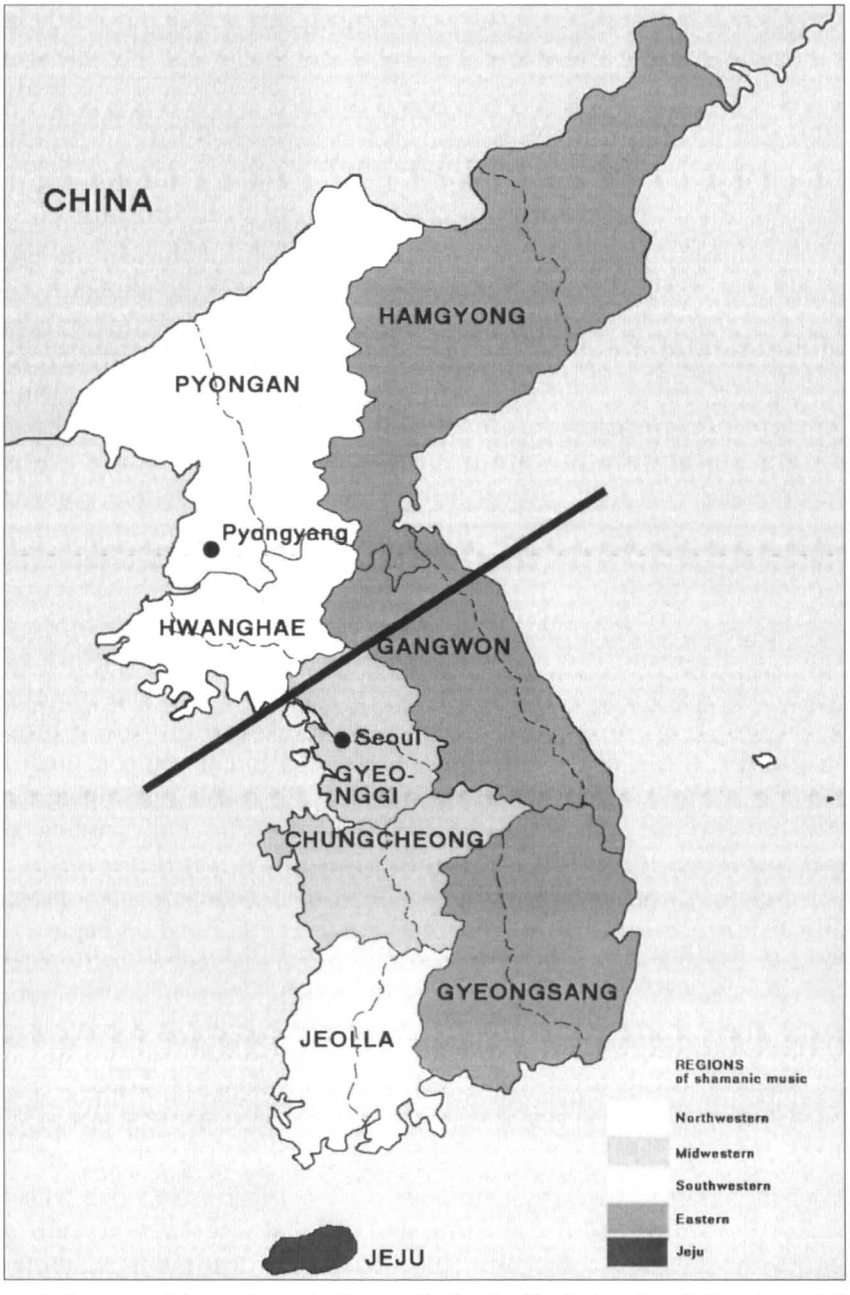

Picture 4. Regions of shamanic music, Korean Peninsula. Musical regions follow the traditional provinces of the peninsula here; although sources from North Korea are rare, the development of shamanism and its music has centuries old roots in the history of Korea, much earlier than the mid-20th century. The importance of the modern era division is signed with a black line according to its less importance in this field.

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In the Southwestern area much more musicians are employed during akut, and the diversity of instruments is higher as a consequence: the ajaeng and the gayageum can be found only here for instance. Sinawi and sanjo, evolved from it, arose and spread into other regions from here, but shamans of this area became masters of pansori too. The determinative scale in shamanic music here is anhemitonic pentatonic of mi-sol-la-si-do'-re'. While the lowest tone is normallysung by a wide vibrato, a breaking tone from do' to si makes the songs of this place unique, but rhythm and tempo are still the same as in the previously mentioned two regions.[55] In Jeollado and South Gyeongsando a uniquely different melodic line can be found in shamanic songs, while used independently, in contrary to the typical melodic line called *Yukchabaegi tori*. Narrative songs are also recited in a specific local dialect giving an altering character to them, but the most important difference in the south is that these narrative songs can be sung free of any rhythmical pattern, especially the jangdan, and without instrumental accompaniment.[56] These narrative songs are free of constraints and inserted elements, and last only for 30-50 minutes.

In the eastern part of the peninsula ensembles of kuts are composed only of percussions: two kengaris, a janggu, a jing, and a jegeum are present. The characteristic scale is anhemitonicpentatonic of mi-sol-la-do'-re', but rhythms are different from the other areas and show much more complexity. The ushering song – for example – begins with five recurring 15/8 beat sequences and are followed by another five 5/8 beat rhythm groups in the second movement. A 12/8 beat rhythm appears in the third and fourth movements indifferent tempos, and the last movement speed up to a presto 4/4 beat rhythm. The mudang is singing during the first half of the song stanza and rests in the second half passing place to musicians.[57]

The typical rhythmical patterns of this area, called *jengbo*, preserve the ancient musical features. The usual form of *daemadidaejangdan* begins with two beats of *allimbak*, that are played instead of a more adequate *chae* (typically used for closing), since this rhythm follows the*puneori* musical style. The structure of jengbo consists of five chapters: while the first has four 40/8 beats sequences, *dokkaekki*, the second has three of 40/8 beats. The third chapter goes with two 40/8bars, the fourth contains only one 40/8 bar again, and the fifth is of two 12/8 and three 8/8 beats. In the first chapter, during the 19th and 20thbeats of the *yangjung* (the husband, and the aksa) are in music and in the 39th and 40th beats the mudangis in narration, the yangjung plays beats of equal time value with the next following rhythm, which is an overlap. Gradual acceleration and dramatic transition between the chapters are typical characteristics in this region. From the first to the fourth chapter of jengbo a single beat of each chapter decreases by one

[55] Lee, Yong-Shik 2007: 167.
[56] Park, Jeonggyeong 2013: 81–109.
[57] Lee, Yong-Shik 2007: 167–168.

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beat: 4/8 for the first chapter, 3/8 for the second, 2/8 for the third, and 1/8 for the fourth. In the last chapter, *gutgeori-chae* and *deongdeokgungi* with 3/8 and *dongsalpuli-chae* with 2/8 are used, but rhythm shows different forms of variations as well as particular playing styles and improvisation.[58]

Melodic lines are also unique in this area: musical styles, *Menari tori* and *Gyeongsangdo* represent different songs to the other areas. A mudangskips the most important middle tone sol while descending la-sol-mi, but inserts a talk (functioning like a stop) to the narrative song, for instance, characterizing her performance rather like a pansori[59] Due to the inserted ritual elements the narrative songs take 2-3 hours in this area. Mudangs frequently use different ornaments to avoid monotonous music with long melodies at one phoneme or vibrato. The *Yukchabegi Tori* has its own musical characteristics, for example, vibrato at mi, dropping speedily do to si are not so rarein north Jeolla. Around Seoul and in Gyeonggi provincesol would not be usedin Yukchabegi Tori, but played in *Gyeong Tori*, the musical style, which is more typical around and also often appears in the shamanic music of north Jeolla.[60]

On the biggest island of Korea, the southern Jeju, music differs from those in the peninsula according to its history as having been partly an independent kingdom for a long time. Accompanying percussions are janggu, buk, daeyeong, and seolsoe giving 6/8 beat rhythms in diverse tempos to the anhemitonic pentatonic of sol-la-do'-re'-mi' scale songs. This is also specific in the island that musicians are junior shamans instead of aksas, thusmusic is usually simpler than that in the peninsula.[61]

6. SOME FINAL NOTES

As we have seen, many aspects of shamanic music or music of a kut can be integrated to create a complex view of the themeas it functions in many different ways to religion and entertainment. Music – both vocal and instrumental – gives structure to rituals and performances, support themudang to reach trance state and helps every participant to express their feelings, but functions also as a healing provider for clients in a kut. But music is also a tradition, its institution in shamanism is the mudang itself and the whole family too, giving new generations and preserving musical heritage, functioning as an ensemble and for advocacy. The two different mudangs have variant roles in the usage of music and musicians as an institution in a kut, and, according to its previously supposed different origins,[62] their relationship might be distinct. Howsoever, along with the increasing role of

[58] Hong 2012.
[59] Park, Jeonggyeong 2013.
[60] Park, Jeonggyeong 2007: 133–176.
[61] Lee, Yong-Shik 2007: 168–169.
[62] Choe 1984. and Yim 1970: 73–90. 161–217.

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shamanism in contemporary society (despite it was also considered declining in the past, according to its female centeredness)[63] of Korea, the role and respect of a mudangand an aksaas a musicianare also increasing. The musical genres of a kut have grown out of their original frames and new contemporary music genres has already evolved and are evolving even today from this base. Especially the southern regions like Joella and the area of Seoul, which have so many variations of rhythms and melodies and use more instruments than the other regions, are hotbeds of further development, even recent popular music has roots in shamanic music.[64] Tradition lives on in many different ways of music and this relation between modern and traditional gives us a more complex way to think of Korean music and society today.

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[63] Choe 1984: 230.

[64] Howard 2006: 122–123.

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MUSIC, HISTORY AND IDENTITY IN THE LITURGY OF THE SPANISH-PORTUGUESE JEWS

ESSICA MARKS

ABSTRACT

Among the varied Jewish liturgies one tradition stands out as different and unique – the Spanish-Portuguese one. The article will describe the special historical circumstances that lead to the creation of a new liturgical music by the Spanish-Portuguese Jews – forced conversion to Christianity and later returning to Judaism. The music described here was influenced by the liturgical music of the Jewish communities in Morocco and the Ottoman Empire combined with Western music of the 17th and 18th centuries. The article will examine the four musical genres of the Spanish-Portuguese music and will show the connections between the history of this community and its liturgical music.

Keywords: Sephardi-Portuguese Jews, Sephardi-Portuguese liturgical music, history and music.

INTRODUCTION

The main idea of this article is that the liturgical music of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews was a central component of communal identity in the past and today this liturgy is the main component of this shared identity. Due to the special historical experiences of these communities, the music of the Portuguese Jews reflects socio-historical processes of the past and present.

The article will discuss the liturgical music and its characteristics in relation to the identity narratives of the Portuguese Jews and the efforts of the descendants of these communities to maintain and preserve the musical heritage which is the main cultural heritage of this community. The article will focus on the liturgical music of the Portuguese Jews practiced today in two communities of London and New York with reference to the Amsterdam tradition. The music described here will be based on recordings that have been conducted since 2001 of three cantors: Abraham Lopes Cardozo, Daniel Halfon and Ira Rohdes.

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HISTORY LITURGY AND IDENTITY OF THE SPANISH-PORTUGUESE JEWS

The communities founded in the 17th Century in Western Europe and the Americas by immigrants from Portugal and Spain, who were Catholic Christians for several generations, constitute a unique group in the Jewish-Sephardi world. The Jewish-Spanish Diaspora in Western Europe had developed from the 16th century when the Portuguese Sephardic Jews that were forced to convert to Christianity two centuries earlier, began to return to Judaism. Upon their return to Judaism many of these ex-converts gradually immigrated to Western Europe. They settled in Venice, Amsterdam and South-West France (Bayonne, Bordeaux). Later crypto-Portuguese Jews dispersed to other centers in Europe (Paris, London, Hamburg, Livorno, Gibraltar, Vienna), and the Americas (New York, Philadelphia, Rhode-Island, Charleston, Savannah, and Curacao).

In the Western Sephardi Diaspora in the 17th century we can detect a number of problematic components. This Diaspora was different from the other Sephardi communities in the Islamic areas on one crucial count: Contrary to most of the Sephardi centers in the East, established by Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal at the end of the 15th century, the communities established in Western Europe, Amsterdam among them, consisted of ex-converts, returning openly to the religion of their ancestors. In most cases these were Marranos born several generations after the expulsion and educated according to the Christian religion. A significant point is that prior to their returning to Judaism, they were isolated physically and spiritually from any Jewish centers. This difference created a major cultural distinction between the Western Jewish Diaspora and the Eastern and North African ones. The Eastern and North African Sephardi communities preserved in one way or another, continuity of the Sephardi-Jewish way of life in custom and law, liturgical tradition and spoken language. By contrast, the Spanish-Portuguese communities in Western Europe had to overcome on the one hand the separation of generations from their religious and cultural origin, and on the other hand, as a result of their extended stay in Portugal as outward Christians and their great involvement in the cultural life of Spain and Portugal, they brought with them different cultural and spiritual values from those of the Sephardi-Jews in North Africa and The Ottoman Empire[1].

One of the unique traits of the Spanish-Portuguese Diaspora is the feeling of collective identity of these communities that regarded themselves as belonging to what they called "The Spanish-Portuguese Nation", and that was what they meant by the term "The Nation's members". Close family relations that existed in these communities reinforced their shared communal identity[2]. The "ethnic" origin of this community was the basis of its collective identity. Most of the members of the

[1] Kaplan 1982: ix.
[2] Idem: ix.

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Jewish-Portuguese community in Amsterdam had origins in Portugal. These families had relatives in the Iberian Peninsula and in other parts of the "Portuguese" Diaspora: Hamburg, Rouen, Salonica, Pisa, Livorno, Tunis, Jerusalem, Brazil, Curacao, and Surinam[3].

In all of the Western Sephardi Diaspora, an elite of international merchants, entrepreneurs and investors stood out. Their economic activities and economic ties ranged over many countries. Because of its status among the ruling elite and the Christian society, this elite became the dominant social force in the Spanish-Portuguese communities. Within the Spanish-Portuguese communities there were many educated people that maintained contacts with the Christian scholars in Europe. The influence of these educated figures grew because of their status in European society and their social-cultural values became the guiding values of these Western-Sephardi communities[4].

HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE LITURGICAL MUSIC OF THE SPANISH-PORTUGUESE JEWS

To build a community that would survive, Amsterdam's Portuguese leaders had to balance between two central ideas of collective identity: the first was the Jewish religion and the second was the concept of the "Nation" that was based on the language, the lore of the community and the ties to the Spanish-Portuguese Diaspora[5].

Jewish religion was obviously the main component of Jewish identity and the Spanish Portuguese ex-converts in Amsterdam developed their own tradition of performing the Jewish liturgy and a central part of this liturgy was the music.

The origin of the liturgical basis of these western communities comes from the first community of Amsterdam. This repertoire relies on the liturgical traditions of the North African and Sephardi Jews of the Ottoman Empire. The first cantors were brought to the Marrano community of Amsterdam from these non-European communities. Of the first cantors in the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam were Rabbi Joseph Shalom Gallego from Saloniki (in the years 1614-28) and R. Isaac Uziel Paz from Morocco[6].

The cantors from Amsterdam were employed in all other world Portuguese communities, since all these communities followed a uniform musical tradition, although specific changes evolved in each over time. This tradition was documented in 1857 by Emanuel Aguilar and Aharon de Sola in their book *The Ancient Melodies*, where it is possible to discern the influence of the North African tradition introduced when cantors from Morocco and Gibraltar were employed.

[3] Bodian 1997: 5.
[4] Kaplan 1982: ix-x.
[5] Bodian 1997: 5.
[6] Seroussi 2001.

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Combined with this layer were original works of cantors of the community itself and it is documented that they were required to read music and perform Western art music. Yet another influence on the liturgical music of the Portuguese community in Amsterdam was the European art music of the period, namely, baroque music[7].

A further cornerstone of the Spanish-Portuguese liturgical music is found in the original liturgical works from Amsterdam and other Sephardi communities (Hamburg, London, Bayonne), which were preserved in manuscripts and printed anthologies. After the opening of the impressive synagogue in Amsterdam in 1675, both Jewish and non-Jewish composers were hired to write original works in Hebrew, with instrumental accompaniment for the holidays. These works were generally in the Italian style of the 18th century[8]. Prominent composers who served the community in Amsterdam were Christiano G. Lidarti and Abraham Casseres. Tunes of these complex works from more than two centuries ago survived as melodies for solo voice in the oral tradition of the community[9]. A further indication of the artistic influence of western music on the Spanish synagogue is the use of professional choirs in prayer, a phenomenon that appears for the first time on 1820 in Bayonne, then in London (1830), and Amsterdam (1875).

The liturgical music of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews was crystallized by the end of the 18th century, and from that time was rendered by individuals rather than communities. These were community cantors who since that time have been responsible for preserving the Jewish-Portuguese liturgical tradition. This tradition has been held virtually intact through careful preservation and an absolute prohibition on introducing changes or new repertoire ideas, a policy maintained to this day by both cantors and communities.

The liturgical music of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews played a central role in the musical culture of the community and consolidated their cultural identity. The Spanish-Portuguese of Amsterdam and later all the Western Sephardi Diaspora expressed their Jewishness through the repertoire of their liturgical music[10].

SPANISH-PORTUGUESE LITURGICAL MUSIC TODAY

Spanish-Portuguese liturgical music today is made up of two major layers, as we have seen: the influence of Moroccan and Eastern-liturgy, the stylistic influence of 17th and 18th century European music as well as original creations in this style. These communities also like to promote the myth that the liturgy contains a layer traceable to biblical and temple times[11]. However, our study found no support for this idea.

[7] Seroussi 2001.
[8] Adler 1966.
[9] Adler 1984.
[10] Seroussi 2001.
[11] Seroussi 1992b.

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To date, studies on Spanish-Portuguese liturgical music have focused on creating a broad and comprehensive view of the historical foundation, but the liturgy performed today still has not been reviewed in depth. This article is a first attempt to examine the Spanish-Portuguese liturgical music still performed in major synagogues, preserving the liturgical tradition intact. The liturgy performed in synagogues in London, New York and Amsterdam today contains mainly four musical genres: Prayer Chanting, Cantillation, Psalm Singing and Melodies.

Prayer chanting

"Prayer chanting" refers to the performance of most of the texts in prose included in the Jewish liturgy. This term refers to the sound structures with which the cantor performs the prayers written mainly as prose text. This genre has hardly been touched upon in studies of Jewish music in general and not investigated at all in the liturgy of the Portuguese Jews[12].

One characteristic of the Spanish-Portuguese liturgical prayer-chanting genre is the internal division that reflects division at specific points in the text. Each chapter consists of several sections that include a number of musical phrases containing selected musical motifs. We will address here a typical example from the Saturday morning service, the chapter that is called *The Blessing of Song* (Nismat Kol Hai).This is the opening of the obligatory Sabbath and holy day morning prayer.

Musically speaking, the internal division here has four sections: 1) *Nishma't* until *Anahnu Modim*; 2) *Vei'lu finu* until *Uvekerev kedoshim*; 3) *Bemakhelot* until *Betishbahot*; and 4) *El hahodao'ts* until *Amen*. Each of the four sections consists of musical phrases, each containing a number of musical motifs. Each phrase has an opening motif, an intermediate motif or motifs and closing motifs. The musical phrases end on a long note or a pause (a breath). The melodic structure is usually based on the textual structure.

The melodic progression of prayer chanting in the Portuguese tradition is usually based on tetrachords or pentachords (*doh*, *re*, *mi*), and it is conducted around a central note, or a number of key notes. We cannot use the term "tonality" since these melodic progressions do not follow the usual characteristics and rules of a modal system like a fixed tonic and central notes or cadences such as final or cadential endings.

In much of the Spanish-Portuguese prayer-chanting, the rhythmic progression has a steady and regular beat. Although the meter is not constant throughout the prayer, and can range from triple to double meter according to the structure of the text, in many parts of the prayer the general feeling is of a fix meter. This

[12] For a review of studies on prayer chanting in the Sephardi Jerusalem tradition, see the Marks 2002: 66-98.

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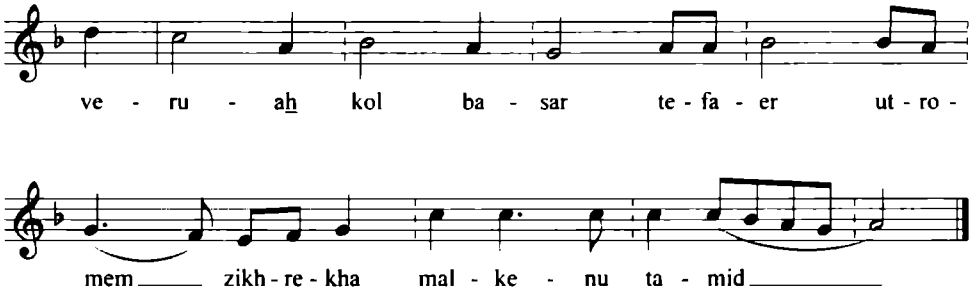
characteristic differs fundamentally from the genre of prayer chanting in most Sephardi communities, which is generally marked by free rhythms without regular meter as it progresses.

Example 1 – Performed by Daniel Halfon 7/7/04



However, the current study found that there are rhythmic progressions as well in the prayer chanting that are based on free rhythm during the prayer such as in part two, *Vei'lu finu* until *tithalal* – but here also the ending patterns tend to be metered.

In all Spanish-Portuguese traditions, the relationship between text and music tends to be syllabic and neumatic. This trait is somewhat different to the two other Sephardi liturgies in which prayer chanting has quite significant quantity of melismatic passages.

The prayer chanting of the Portuguese Jews on the one hand reflects unique identity and the process of community identity formation, and on the other hand it has layers that indicate the influence of Moroccan and East-Sephardi liturgies, primarily in that the pronunciation is Sephardi, stemming from the Moroccan and eastern-Spanish liturgies whose pronunciation is Sephardi[13]. The Sephardi pronunciation imparts a markedly "Sephardi" flavor to every Spanish-Portuguese prayer, since they are based on melodic progressions incorporating the Sephardi pronunciation. From the musical viewpoint the musical materials are similar to the two other Sephardi liturgies in the basic structure of tetrachords or pentachords and the heavy relations between text and music.

A clear demonstration of the connection with the Moroccan liturgy can be seen in two melodies: *Nishmat Kol Hai* and *Shirat Hayam* which appear in almost identical form in the liturgy of Moroccan Jewry.

[13] Pronunciation refers to the stressed and unstressed syllables in words. The Sephardi pronunciation is marked by the stressing of the syllables at the end of words whereas the Ashkenazi (European) pronunciation is marked by stressing the syllables in the beginning of words.

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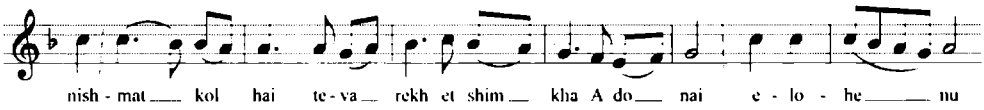
Example 2 -*Nishmat Kol Hai* performed by Abraham Lopes Cardozo 20/9/2001

The melodic materials of the Spanish-Portuguese prayer chanting have a very obvious "color" or style of western European music, which differs from the liturgical prayer singing of the Jews of North Africa (Morocco) and the Near East, and also from that of the Ashkenazi liturgy of both Eastern and Western Europe. This is clear from the many musical motives and melodies which have the feeling of a regular beat and even contain sections with double or triple meter, a trait that does not appear in normative Ashkenazi nor in other Sephardi liturgies. This characteristic means that the melodic progressions of the genre do not take recitative form like most of prayer chanting in other Jewish liturgies but are very melodic, and in many cases, due to their metered rhythm there is a feeling of symmetrical melodies which are very musical and expressive.

Psalm Singing

The opening section of most synagogue services, especially in the morning ones, consist mainly of a selection of psalms. In the Spanish-Portuguese synagogues, as in the Eastern Mediterranean and North African Jews, the performance of these psalms is carried out in a very distinctive musical genre called in this article *Psalms Singing*.

The Spanish-Portuguese sing the psalms aloud in distinct musical structures, as do the Jews of North Africa and the Sephardim of the East. Here, too, the pronunciation is clearly Sephardi. Psalm singing is characterized in all Sephardi traditions by a two-section melodic structure following the two-part verse structure of most verses in the Book of Psalms. At the base of this psalmodic structure lie two melodic motifs. Each motif is characterized by its recitation tone, melodic contour, conclusion pattern and tone, and text-melody relation. An important musical attribute defining the diverse psalmodic formulae used in the Sephardi traditions is the interval separating the cadential notes of motives 1 and 2.[14]

The melodic structure of all the traditional forms of Jewish-Portuguese psalm singing is based on the principle of one musical phrase for each verse of a psalm. This phrase is based in general on the biblical-poetic device of half-line parallelism. The internal structure of the melodic phrases is in most cases equivalent to the main disjunctive accents: *Sof pasuk*, *etnah*, *oleh veyored*, *pasek legarmei*, *revia*. These are the main accents related to the melodic structure of musical phrases, the other accents are not expressed musically.

[14] For further knowledge about Jewish psalm singing see Flender 1992.

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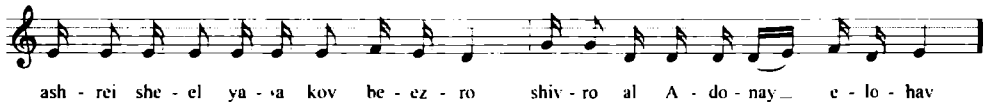
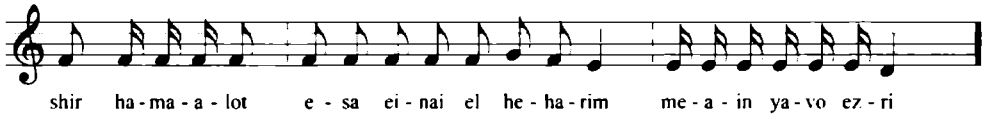
Example 3 – Psalm 146/5 performed by Daniel Halfon 27/10/04



There also exists a *three-part melodic structure*, generally parallel to three-part verses containing a main pause in addition to a disjunctive accent that divides the verse into three parts, where the additional melodic part is in the first part of the verse.

Example 4 – Psalm 121/1 performed by Abraham Lopes Cardozo 21/2/02

The melodic phrases in all performances recorded here consist of three main motifs: the opening, the middle and the closing motifs. These motifs are related to the musical pauses and form the internal structure of these phrases. In verses of tripartite melodic structure, there are other motifs related to the pauses of *oleh veyored* and *pasek legarmei*. Usually the opening motif moves upward. The central motif usually incorporates a descent towards the middle pause, although there are also central motifs that move upwards in some verses. The closing motif in all versions falls, usually in gradations, towards the note of the final pause. These traits are identical to the Eastern-Sephardi and Moroccan psalm singing.

The rhythmic structure of Jewish-Portuguese psalm-chanting is created through the interplay between stresses and pauses. The melodic lines in Portuguese psalm singing progress in a limited range, generally in seconds within a tetrachord or pentachord framework. A central characteristic of the psalm singing is the interval between the middle and the final stop. Two intervals are noticeably more common than others: the major second and the fourth.

The text-music relations in the Portuguese psalm singing is usually syllabic and more rarely neumatic (2-4 sounds in a syllable). This musical characteristic highlights the close link between the prosodic structure of the text and the musical and rhythmic structure of psalm singing.

In the Portuguese psalm singing there is a clearly discernible link to the liturgical style of Sephardic Jews in North Africa and the Near East. All characteristics related to the melodic and rhythmic structure appear clearly in eastern Sephardi psalm singing and the Psalm singing of Moroccan Jews. Common characteristics of Spanish-Portuguese psalm singing and that of the Jews of North Africa and the

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Near East are as follows: A common two-part structure parallel to the two-part verse structure; a three-part structure in verses which end with *oleh veyored* or a *pasek legarmei*; a limited melodic progression in a tetrachord or pentachord framework; an interval between the intermediate break and final stop; and the syllabic relationship between the text and the music.

The musical characteristic which is unique to Spanish-Portuguese psalm singing is the melodic style that can be described as having "Western-European color".

Cantillation in the Spanish-Portuguese Liturgy

Jewish tradition put a special emphasis on reading the scriptures in public. Jewish religious law demands that sections of the Bible be performed in liturgical events. All five books of the Pentateuch (*Torah*) are performed throughout the year, in the Sabbath morning and afternoon services, as well as on Monday and Thursday mornings.[15]

Like other Sephardi traditions, the melodic structure of Biblical cantillation in the Spanish-Portuguese liturgy, reflects the succession of the accentuation signs, which is constructed according to the syntax of the text. The musical form derives from the form and content of the biblical text. The rhythmic structure of the cantillation is based on a clear sense of beat but without a fixed meter. Rhythmic patterns derive from the patterns of accented and unaccented syllables of the text. The text-music relations in cantillation are varied. Most accents are rendered syllabically, some create a neumatic texture (two to three tones to a syllable), while a selected number of accents are performed in a very melismatic manner.

The musical analysis in this section includes the two major disjunctive accentuation signs (*sof pasuk* and *etnah*) and deals with their common musical characteristics, while not including exceptions.

Sof Pasuk (end of a verse)

The melodic progressions are in steps of major seconds where the direction of the final notes is always upward. The rhythmic structure results from the accented and non-accented syllables in the text. The rhythm is free following the text prosody. When there is an elaboration with the accent *tevir*, the music-text

[15] The reading of Biblical portions is carried out according to a system of accentuation signs (*ta'amei miqra*) which appear below or above the text. The resulting performance of the Biblical text according to these signs is known in the scholarly literature as "Biblical cantillation". The sign system used nowadays is called "Tiberian" because it took its present shape during the 8th and 9th centuries CE among scholars in the town of Tiberias, in the shores of the Sea of Galilee. The system was meant to provide the readers with fixed intonational, syntactic and hermeneutical guidelines that until then were apparently transmitted orally. The accentuation signs are categorized according to their function as conjunctive and disjunctive. Each accent has a different power of disjunctiveness or conjunctiveness. The cantillation of the Bible is performed by a proficient reader (*Ba'al qri'ah*) within a special section of the services in which the Torah scrolls are taken out of the Ark in a ceremonial procession.

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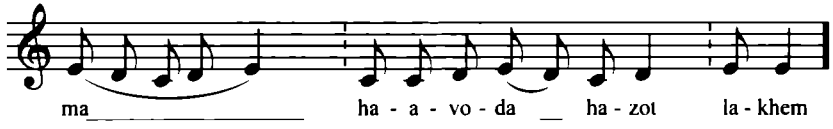
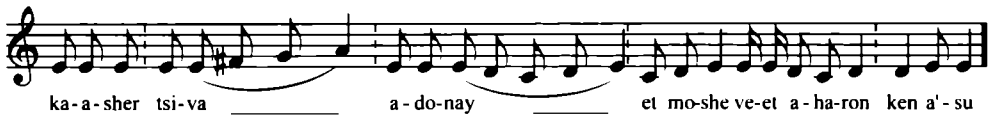
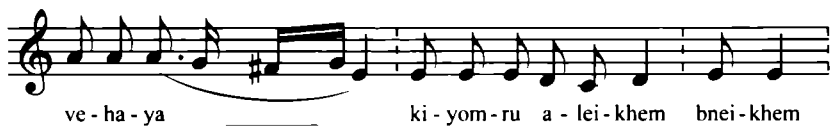
relationship becomes melismatic and the musical pattern is in the range of a minor third goes in an ascending direction.

Example 5 – Exodus 12/6 performed by Daniel Halfon 27/10/04 (*tevir-maarikh-tarha-sof pasuk*)

In elaborations containing the accents *kadma* and *darga,* the music-text relationship is melismatic. The movement expands to a minor sixth between the high note of the *kadma* and the low notes of other accents. There is an interval of a fourth between the final note of the *kedma* and the opening note of the *darga*. The melodic progression is based on tetracord *re mi* with a recitation on the note *mi*, which emphasizes the centrality of this note during the melodic development rather than it being merely a concluding note.

Example 6 – Exodus 12/6 performed by Daniel Halfon 27/10/04
(*kadma-darga-tevir-maarikh-tarha-sof pasuk*)

Etnach (secondary major disjunctive accent)

The melodic progression develops in a series of major seconds, where the direction of the concluding notes always rises (a major second). The rhythmic structure results from the accented and non-accented syllables in the text. The rhythm is free following the text prosody. The interval between the note for the end of *etnach* and the closing of the end of a verse is usually the interval of unison (a prima) with a recitation of two notes. When the accent *zakaf-gadol* is added to the notation *etnach*, an extension of the melodic progress is created and the movement reaches a major sixth and the relationship of music-text becomes melismatic.

Example 7 – Exodus 12/26 performed by performed by Abraham Lopes Cardozo **21/2/02**

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The musical analysis described above reveals that in this genre as in the former two, pronunciation is Sephardi and thus the musical patterns is reminiscent of the Eastern and Moroccan Sephardi cantillations, but the modal base of Spanish-Portuguese Torah chanting differs from that of the two other Sephardi groups. In all eastern Sephardy cantillations, the modality is based on the first tetrachord of the Maqam "Siga", with a characteristic microtone on the first note, which is non-existent for the Spanish-Portuguese group. In Jewish Moroccan Torah chanting, there is a fair amount of pentatonic progressions, which is not heard among the Portuguese Jews. It can be said that in principle, the melodic progressions are in a western-sounding color. Thus, in the genre of cantillation of this tradition the musical characteristic is ambiguous: on one hand the pronunciation creates accentuation and rhythmic patterns similar to the two other Sephardi cantillations, but the melodic "color" is Western-European.

Melodies – Piyyutim (liturgical songs)

Jewish liturgical melodies – i.e. tunes that are generally metered, having a fixed and recursive structure – are typical of the entire Jewish tradition. Absent written evidence predating the Middle Ages, it is hard to pinpoint when tunes began to be incorporated into Jewish prayer. Some researchers believe that by the time of the first Talmudic commentators, laments had been incorporated to be declaimed in synagogue services[16].

An important source of *piyyutim* to all Sephardi communities even today are Hebrew religious song composed in Spain from the 10th century AD till the 13th century. After the expulsion, the great dispersion of the Sephardi communities in the East and in North Africa during the Middle Ages led to each community's forming its own liturgical custom, and the differences between them appeared mainly in the *piyyutim* which remained incorporated into their prayers. In following generations, many *piyyutim* fell into disuse and this process led to the adoption of a unified Sephardi prayer book which all the communities in Europe, Africa and Asia could use[17].

The creation and singing of religious songs (*piyuttim*) flourished in the Sephardi communities of the East and North Africa even after the expulsion from Spain. The Portuguese Jews, as part of the renewed contact with Sephardi communities in the East and in North Africa, adopted a significant part of these *piyuttim*.

An important figure for our understanding of the liturgical and paraliturgical tradition of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews and of the role of melody in prayer is

[16] Broadly speaking, there would have been a link between the introduction into Israel during the Byzantine era of the *piyyut* as a permanent feature, around 600 C.E. at the latest, and the appearance of melody in prayer (Fleisher 1975: 23-24).

[17] Shirman 1996: 91-93.

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Joseph Shalom Gallego, one of the first cantors in the Portuguese community of Amsterdam. Gallego came from Saloniki and he brought with him the Sephardi liturgical tradition of the East to the new Portuguese community in Amsterdam. His book *Imrei No'am*, published in 1628, is an anthology intended to provide *piyuttim* and prayers for a variety of public and private events[18].

The first collection of melodies in musical notation is found in David Aaron De Sola and Emanuel Aguilar's book, *The ancient melodies*, published in London in 1857. It contains 71 tunes and a comprehensive introduction which refers to historical aspects of the Spanish-Portuguese liturgy and paraliturgy. The book was an attempt to create a musical codex which would ensure the future of the Spanish-Portuguese liturgical tradition for future generations, and is considered one of this tradition's most important sources and is moreover the first modern attempt at research in Jewish music[19]. His claim, that some of the Jewish-Sephardi tunes were extremely old, rests on the notion that they were transferred orally long before musical notation was developed. According to De Sola, the fact that some of the melodies are common to all the Sephardi communities, despite the considerable geographical distances between them, shows that these melodies are ancient and original[20]. This claim is part of the historical myth perpetuated by the Portuguese Jews, since the "antiquity" of their traditional melodies demonstrated their ancient link to Judaism in general and to other Sephardi communities in particular.

The *piyyutim* repertoire of in the Spanish-Portuguese liturgy practiced today as found in our research, consists of 35 *piyyutim* for eve of Sabbath and Sabbath meals, 20 *piyyutim* for the High Holidays, 25 *qinnot* (laments) for ninth of Av, 10 *piyyutim* for Passover and 4 songs for other holidays. The number of *piyyutim* in the Spanish-Portuguese tradition is significantly less than in the two other Sephardi tradition. The Portuguese repertoire lacks the vast repertoire of paraliturgical *piyyutim* of Eastern and Moroccan Sephardi tradition[21]. In these two traditions there is for example the paraliturgical event called *Bakkashot*, which consists of a large number of *piyyutim* that are missing from the Spanish-Portuguese tradition[22].

Many of the texts of Spanish-Portuguese *piyyutim* are part of the Eastern and Moroccan Sephardi religious repertoires. This is a representation of the close connections and influence of these traditions on the Spanish-Portuguese liturgy as described before. The musical element is a different matter, here we can find expressions of uniqueness of this tradition.

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[18] Seroussi 1992b.

[19] Ibidem.

[20] De Sola and Aguilar 1857: 15.

[21] The term "paraliturgical" here refers to religious events that are outside the obligatory prayer service.

[22] For further information about the *Bakkashot* ceremonies and repertoire see Seroussi 1986; Yayama 2003; Marks 2007.

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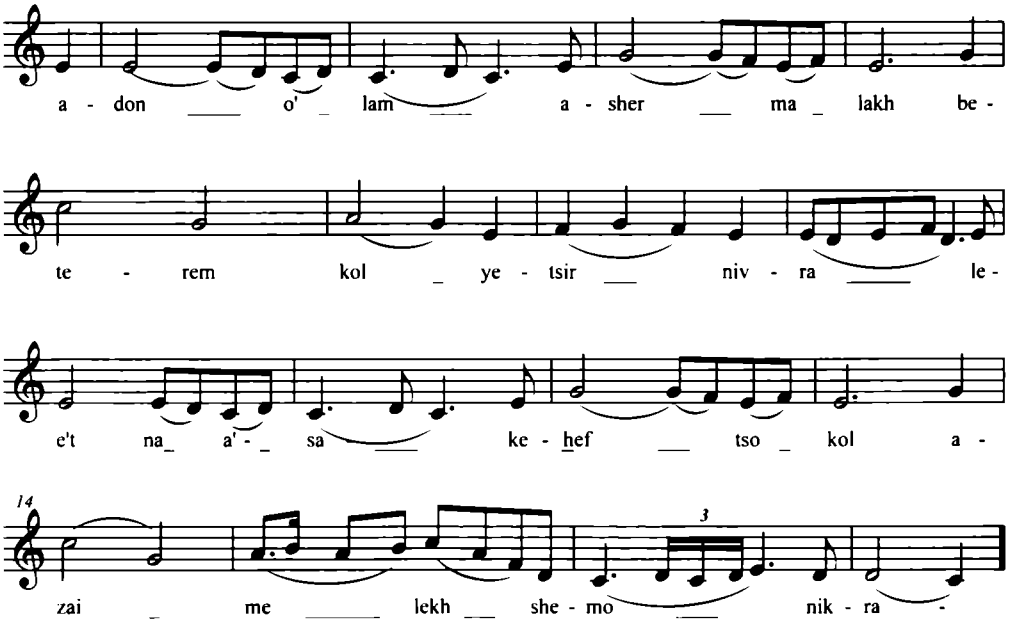
The here researched repertoire of *piyyutim* for Shabat (Sabbath) features the following musical characteristics: 1) The vast majority of the melodies are based on fixed meters and are happy and lively in character; 2) The structure of the melodies tends to be symmetric and usually follows the strophic poetic structure; 3) The melodies on the whole are western-European in style and color.

Example 8 – *Adon O'lam* performed by Abraham Lopes Cardozo 20/9/01
(this melody appears in the book of Aguilar and De Sola)



The *piyyutim* repertoire for High Holidays *(Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur)* in the Spanish-Portuguese tradition generally has a very solemn musical feeling and style. The rhythmic structure is usually non-metric although there is a strong feeling of regular beat. There is in this repertoire a combination in the melodic style of influence of the Moroccan and Eastern Sephardi traditions with a western style-color as well. The outcome of this combination gives this repertoire a unique musical trait which is regarded by members of these communities as "original Spanish-Portuguese"[23].

[23] This issue was pointed out in my many interviews with the late cantor Abraham Lopez Cardoso and cantor Daniel Halfon.

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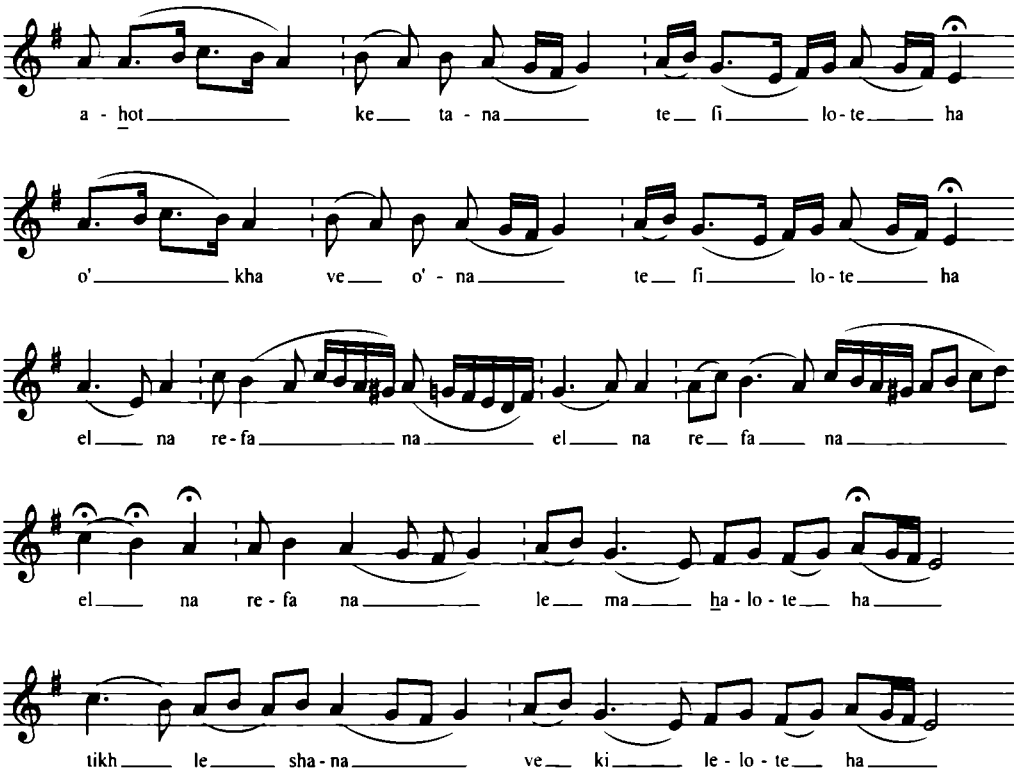
Example 9 – *Ahot Ketana* performed by Abraham Lopes Cardozo **11/10/2001**

The repertoire of *qinnot* (laments) for the ninth of Av contains 25 *piyyutim*. Our research found that most of the *qinnot* (22) are based on a fixed meter. Sometimes the meter is changed within the melody but in general these melodies are metered and this is different to the free rhythmic style of the same repertoire in the Eastern and Moroccan Sephardi traditions. Our study found that in most of the *qinnot*, although they are based on a fixed meter, the performance tends towards the grave and solemn style that is considered to be part of the aesthetics of the Spanish-Portuguese concerning the Ninth of Av[24].

[24] Seroussi (2002) in his study of two *Spanish-Portuguese qinnot* found two approaches to the *qinnot* performance: the first is a solemn and grave style of melody reflecting the Spanish-Portuguese aesthetics of synagogue music for the Ninth of Av, and the second is a more lively type and reflects influences of the Eastern-Sephardi and North-African liturgical music.

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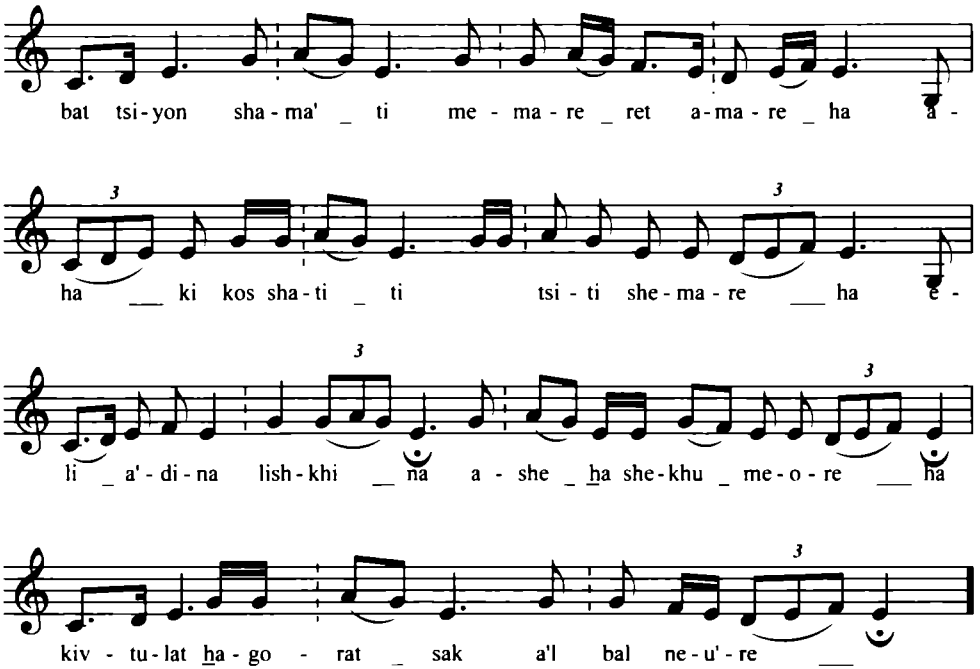
Example 10 – *Bat Zion* performed by Daniel Halfon 4/8/04

The music of the *qinnot* reflects the duality in the Spanish-Portuguese liturgical tradition: on the one hand the texts come from the Eastern and Moroccan Sephardi traditions but the melodic and rhythmic style are more western.

CONCLUSION

Music, history and identity in the liturgy of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews are linked together in an intricate cultural fabric. The musical culture of this branch of Sephardim consists mainly of its liturgical music and the Portuguese Jews attempt to preserve their culture and identity in a changing Jewish world that is undergoing major changes in cultural identities. The main idea of this article is that their liturgical music is the main tool of this attempt.

From the demographic aspect, all the congregations of the Spanish-Portuguese synagogues today have only a small number of people from Spanish-Portuguese origin. Most of these congregations consist of people from other Jewish-Sephardi communities like Moroccans, Iranians, Iraqis and others. Despite this fact, the liturgy of the Spanish-Portuguese that has been practiced since the 17th century remained intact until today and is performed intact at least in the two main synagogues in New York and London. This strict preservation has been maintained by the fact that since the beginning of the Spanish-Portuguese tradition, the cantors,

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who were the bearers of the liturgy, were not allowed any changes or personal additions to the performance of the liturgy.

The liturgical music of the Spanish-Portuguese synagogue as studied in the research presented here reflects the history and self-identification of the communities that continue to practice this liturgical tradition. In the prayer chanting of the Spanish-Portuguese the melodic materials have a very obvious "color" or style of western European music, This is clear from the many musical motives and melodies which have the feeling of a regular beat and even contain sections with double or triple meter, a trait that does not appear in normative Ashkenazi nor in other Sephardi liturgies. This genre does not take recitative form like most of prayer chanting in other Jewish liturgies but is very melodic, and due to the metered rhythm there is a feeling of symmetrical melodies which are very musical and expressive.

The Spanish-Portuguese psalm singing has a clearly discernible link to the liturgical style of Sephardic Jews in North Africa and the Near East. All characteristics related to the melodic and rhythmic structure appear clearly in eastern Sephardi psalm singing and the Psalm singing of Moroccan Jews. A musical characteristic which is unique to Spanish-Portuguese psalm singing is the melodic style that can be described as having "Western-European color".

In the genre of cantillation of this tradition the musical characteristic is ambiguous: on one hand the pronunciation creates accentuation and rhythmic patterns similar to the two other Sephardi cantillations, but the melodic "color" is Western-European.

The repertoire of the *piyyutim* is based from the textual angle on the Eastern and Moroccan Sephardi traditions but musically is different and has unique and original characteristics.

The liturgical music of the Spanish-Portuguese as practiced today in the synagogues of Amsterdam. New York and London is a unique tradition that enfolds Eastern and Moroccan Sephardi elements with Western-European styles and some original compositions. This blend of cultural and historical roots have created a special and different Liturgical tradition. Although these communities also like to promote the myth that the liturgy contains a layer traceable to biblical and temple times, our study found no support for this idea.

This liturgical tradition and the music within it are the central and most important element in the communal identity of these communities in which the number of families from Spanish-Portuguese origin is declining significantly.

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HYPOSTASES DU VÉGÉTAL DANS LES CULTURES POPULAIRES DES ROUMAINS ET DES ARMÉNIENS: L'ARBRE

SABINA ISPAS

RESUME

Au-delà des toutes références symboliques universelles, il s'avère que l'Arbre est un motif chrétien, qui est présent dans le folklore littéraire roumain comme dans toutes les cultures traditionnelles et les littératures orales qui se sont développées sur les espaces chrétiennes. Les formes représentatives de l'Arbre et aussi des autres motifs végétaux sont bien divers, cet étude évoquant aussi les *khacikars* arméniennes (des vieilles croix en pierre). Celles-ci font, directement ou intuitivement, soit un double soit une substitute de l'Arbre, et nous font croire que l'Arbre même pouvait, plus que souvent, symboliser en effet la Croix même du Sauveur et de la foi chrétienne.

Mots clef: Motifs littéraires, folklore littéraire roumain, le végétal, l'Arbre, khacikar.

Les commentaires contenus dans l'article intitulé *Hypostases du végétal dans les cultures populaires des Roumains et des Arméniens: L'arbre*, sont le résultat de l'analyse menée depuis plusieurs années sur les processus d'interrelation des langages dans le cadre des communications de type oral; et en particulier, entre les textes littéraires qui appartiennent aux différents genres et espèces du folklore et les concepts fondamentaux propres à la culture roumaine que ces expressions verbales reflètent.

Différentes d'abord par leur spécificité fonctionnelle, les espèces et des catégories de la littérature populaire qui utilisent la parole comme moyen d'expression attestent des phrases et, en particulier, des termes par lesquels sont évoquées des images à fonction symbolique et allégorique, connues et acceptées en tant que structures représentatives pour la spiritualité ethnique (roumaine dans notre cas). Les commentaires ne concernent pas la composante artistique, l'esthétique ou la spécificité des messages plastiques, mais portent sur les significations que différents textes rituels, cérémoniels ou festifs véhiculent, et que nous identifions simultanément dans des expressions plastiques, dans des formes

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abstraites. Pour la culture roumaine, nous avons délimité l'un des composants qui peut être définitoire, à notre avis, à savoir, le végétal (exprimé à travers des bois, des fruits et des fleurs).

Il y a des espèces d'arbres qui sont devenus, au cours des derniers deux mille ans, des porteurs préférentiels pour certains messages d'essence chrétienne, tout en étant des parties constitutives de l'imaginaire et de la symbolique théologique caractéristiques de la phase primaire d'expression de cette religion, messages qui se sont universalisés[1]. Parmi les plantes à valeur symbolique, allégorique, à fonction principale dans le rituel et bénéficiant d'une expression exceptionnelle dans toutes sortes de textes littéraires, versifiées ou en prose, on distingue avec autorité *pomul* [l'arbre] <lat. *pomus* (*arbore* <lat *arbor, -is*, *copacul* [arbre] – voir alb. *kopači*) concept matérialisé dans différentes essences de bois. Actuellement, ce mot est présent dans le fonds de référence des grandes cultures et religions du monde et il concentre, au sein de chaque système particulier, plusieurs caractéristiques qui en font un porteur de significations distinctes qui confèrent de l'individualité à chaque culture[2].

Il y a 2000 ans, le monde n'était pas moins traversé par les voyageurs ni moins connu qu'aujourd'hui, au moins dans le Proche et le Moyen-Orient. Des routes commerciales et militaires importantes reliaient la Transcaucasie et le monde de la Méditerranée orientale. Si le type de communication et les moyens de déplacement et de transport étaient moins rapides, en revanche, ceux-ci ont fourni aux voyageurs – issus des zones culturelles très diverses – des cadres pour la communication directe qui s'effectuait dans un temps beaucoup plus long que celui auquel nous sommes habitués aujourd'hui. Parfois, les voyages duraient plusieurs semaines ou plusieurs mois le long d'une année, temps suffisant pour comprendre à fond les messages des compagnons de voyage, avec lesquels on se partageait des histoires, des peurs et des souffrances communes, assez souvent extrêmes, y compris l'expérience de la mort qui n'était pas la dernière. Dans ces temps-là, la prédication pourrait se faire à un rythme et par des moyens de plus en plus proches de la „nature" de l'homme et la compréhension des pensées de „l'autre" (comprendre „l'autre") s'accomplissait après un temps de réflexion que la longue

[1] Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *Dicţionar de simboluri* [Dictionnaire des symboles], 2 vols., Bucureşti, 1995; Jean Daniélou, *Simboluri creştine primitive* [Symboles chrétiens primitifs], traducere în limba română de Anca Oprić şi Eugenia Arjoca Ieremis, Timişoara, 1998; Tristan Frédérick, *Primele imagini creştine. De la simbol la icoană secolele II-IV* [Les premières images chrétiennes. Du symbole à l'icône au II-ème–IV-ème siècles], traducere de Ioana Buculei şi Ana Boroş, Bucureşti, Editura Meridiane, 2002; Julien Ries, *Sacrul în istoria religioasă a omenirii* [La sacré dans l'histoire religieuse de l'humanité], traducere de Ioana Utale, Iaşi, Polirom, 2000.

[2] Alexandru Ciorănescu, *Dicţionarul etimologic al limbii române* [Le dictionnaire etymologique de la langue roumaine], Bucureşti, Editura Saeculum I.O., 2007; *Dicţionarul explicativ al limbii române* [Le dictionnaire explicatif de la langue roumaine], ediţia a II-a revăzută şi adăugită, Academia Română, Institutul de lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti", Bucureşti, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 2009.

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route et la communication directe et durable favorisaient. On ne doit donc pas être surpris si les éléments communs essentiellement chrétiens que nous identifions dans certaines cultures sans contact direct se soient ainsi propagés. Issu d'un noyau religieux et dogmatique commun, monothéiste, les messages transmis par la prédication apostolique pourraient conférer de nouveaux sens aux symboles et aux allégories qui étaient familiers aux porteurs de différentes cultures préchrétiennes, en particulier dans les zones du Proche et du Moyen-Orient, qui avaient déjà atteint des éléments communs au niveau des représentations des concepts de base. Nous pensons que dans cette situation se trouve l'*arbre* – objet, symbole, allégorie, etc. – devenu d'abord *stâlp* [pilier] et ensuite *cruce* [croix].

Sans avoir accès à de nombreuses sources bibliographiques savantes, on a remarqué une fréquence qui ne peut pas être aléatoire de la représentation des mêmes motifs végétaux, dans „l'art des croix en pierre arméniennes", les fameuses *khacikare* sculptées dans cette matière dure, matérialisée aussi dans des textes littéraires et traditions dans la culture populaire roumaine, où elles sont porteuses de messages que l'on pourrait appeler „christiques".

À notre avis, les images végétales sont profondément enracinées dans la culture populaire depuis les trois premiers siècles de notre ère où, selon la tradition, les habitants sur ces terres se disent avoir reçu le christianisme apostolique. Le texte littéraire folklorique roumain est le porteur de ces idées messianiques que nous trouvons dans le bois transformé (travaillé) ou dans la pierre sculptée en croix. Ce qu'ils ont en commun, c'est le sens chrétien reçu avec le processus si ancien de la conversion, celui qui est décodé par les textes populaires des chants de Noël, des chants funéraires, des légendes et des contes de fées fantastiques. (Ceux-ci sont les principales espèces folkloriques où il apparaît).

Substance dure, compacte ou fibreuse, d'origine végétale, composé de la racine, le tronc et les branches d'arbre, le bois est „matière" par excellence. En roumain, le terme est d'origine latine (<*lignum*) et il peut désigner l'arbre, en tant que tel; il apparaît sous des formes composées, dans les noms populaires de certaines espèces des plantes (bois-doux, le bois chien, le bois-seigneur) ou lorsqu'il est utilisé dans des expressions définissant l'état d'immobilité, la rigidité, le manque de sensibilité, la constance (faire le bois, raidir, être en bois)[3]. Symboliquement, pour exprimer la crucifixion du Christ, l'événement qui a changé la vie des descendants des protoparents Adam et Eve, et qui a conduit au salut de l'humanité, on utilise l'expression „pendu au bois". La croix en bois, outil de torture infâme, est devenue signe et moyen du salut, de la défense et en son nom et par sa protection l'homme acquiert la vie éternelle. En contexte rituel et cérémonial „le bois" fonctionne dans de nombreux cas, comme un substitut pour le corps humain, ainsi que la plupart des formes végétales. Cette matière – que nous reconnaissons facilement comme l'arbre –, nous est familière, aussi bien comme

[3] *Dictionnarul explicativ* [...].

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symbole de la vie en mouvement: l'engourdissement, le repos et la régénération, le développement, l'évolution, tout cela en association avec la symbolique de la verticalité, expression de la tendance à toucher le ciel. Un statut spécial est réservé à l'arbre placé dans le Jardin du Paradis dont les fruits consommés par le premier couple d'hommes, malgré l'interdiction faite par le Créateur, leur font connaître le „bien et le mal" et donc la mort. Un autre „bois" provenant du même jardin qui a été mis au monde par les eaux du déluge et a été transformé en croix de la crucifixion de Jésus, que la légende apocryphe raconte sur l'origine du bois de la croix[4], donne à l'homme la possibilité d'être racheté de „l'esclavage du péché" et récupérer la vie éternelle. L'arbre est porteur symbolique des expériences humaines fondamentales: la vie, la mort et l'espoir de redevenir immortels.

L'arbre est considéré dans de nombreuses cultures et religions du monde comme un axe qui unit le ciel et la terre et ce qui se trouve sous terre[5], en étant par essence „bois vivant." En lui on reconnaît ces attributs qui sont ceux de la croix. *L'arbre, c'est la croix.* La où les essences d'arbres sont riches et variées, les cultures dites du bois ont été développées; dans le cadre de ces cultures des techniques de construction et des technologies de traitement ont étés perfectionnées, en utilisant celui-ci comme matière première principale. Les sociétés qui se sont appuyées en grande partie de leur évolution sur la culture du bois telle que la société roumaine, ont réalisé de vraies performances dans ce qui concerne la diversité des domaines d'utilisation, auxquels on associe des valeurs implicitement sacrées et esthétiques.

Des variantes des légendes populaires sur la création et sur la naissance de Jésus montrent également comment les matières végétales ont été impliquées dans cet événement, acte essentiel pour l'avenir de l'homme qui avait péché, pour son salut. Cette „attitude" des différentes essences de bois est décisive pour la position qu'elles occuperont plus tard dans la relation avec l'homme créateur de culture à travers une position hiérarchique dans l'ordre de la création. Certains végétaux ont reconnu le Messie et ont protégé sa mère et son fils, tandis que d'autres n'ont pas reconnu l'exemplarité de l'événement de sa naissance et ne les ont pas aidés; certaines plantes ont aidé Marie pour cacher Jésus pendant la fuite en Egypte ou l'ont aidée à le trouver quand il a été crucifié par Pilate. Plus tard, l'homme sera

[4] Nicolae Cartojan, *Cărţile populare în literatura românească* [Les livres populaires dans la littérature roumaine], I-II, Bucureşti, 1929, 1938. Tony Brill, *Tipologia legendei populare româneşti.* 1 Legenda etiologică.[La typologie de la légende populaire roumaine. I La légende étyologique]. Prefaţă de Sabina Ispas. Ediţie îngrijită şi studiu introductiv de I. Oprişan, Bucureşti, Editura Saeculum I.O., 2005 – type 10.434; 2. Legenda mitologică. Legenda religioasă. Legenda istorică (...) [La légende mythologique. La légende religieuse. La légende historique], 2006, type 14.079; 14.080.

[5] Paul Petrescu, *Motive decorative celebre* [Motifs décoratifs célèbres], Bucureşti, Editura Meridiane, 1971; Romulus Vulcănescu, *Coloana cerului* [La colonne du ciel], Bucureşti, Editura Academiei RSR, 1972; Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*; I. Oprişan, *Troiţe româneşti. O tipologie* [Croix roumaines de la Trinité. Une typologie], Bucureşti, Editura Vestala, 2003.

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représenté par l'intermédiaire du végétal, substitué par celui-ci ou même incorporé à lui; par conséquent, il „le bois", l'arbre doit avoir des qualités spéciales de la sainteté. Ainsi, le sapin et l'if ont été marqués par la Teofanie au moment de la naissance de Jésus et ils ont un ascendant sur d'autres végétaux (comme/semblable le blé, le raisin, la figue, la pomme).

La présence du végétal dans le déroulement des rituels calendaires du cycle des fêtes roumaines met en évidence la relation spéciale qui a été créée entre lui et l'être humain et cela fait suite à une vision particulière sur les interrelations entre les royaumes et les rôles de chacun pour maintenir l'équilibre cosmique et l'harmonie de la terre. On a mentionné dans un autre article que „le végétal est spécifié comme un substitut de l'être humain" dans de nombreux rituels traditionnels et on associe cette vision roumaine du monde à l'enseignement chrétien où le sacrifice de la chair et du sang a été remplacé par la substance végétale sur laquelle agit le miracle de la méthamorphose de la substance (transsubstanțiere = transsubstanciation).

Gilbert Durand a observé que „la verticalité de l'arbre dirige de manière irréversible le devenir et l'humanise un peu en l'approchant d'une position verticale caractéristique de l'espèce humaine. [...] Il y a tout un messianisme soubiacent du symbolisme du feuillage, et tout arbre à bourgeons ou qui fleurit est un arbre de Jessé. [...] Par sa verticalité, l'arbre cosmique s'humanise et devient un symbole du microcosme qu'est l'homme [...] l'arbre est vraiment une totalité psycho-physiologique de l'individualité humaine. [...] Le rôle de la métamorphose du végétal est dans de nombreux cas de prolonger ou de suggérer le prolongement de la vie humaine. La verticalité facilite beaucoup ce „circuit" entre le niveau végétal et le plan humain, car son vecteur renforce encore plus les images de la résurrection et du triomphe"[6].

Certaines plantes sont impliquées dans l'accomplissement des rituels, partagent ensemble la vie du sacré et véhiculent le sens de la purification, de la protection, leur présence est ferme dans le déroulement des fêtes chrétiennes: la branche de saule le dimanche des Rameaux, le basilic à l'Epiphanie, l'armoise et la feuille de noyer à la Pentecôte, les branches de pomme, lilas ou autre arbre fruitier pour la Saint-André, Noël et Saint-Basile, etc. On peut y ajouter d'autres végétaux avec un rôle bien connu dans le rituel: le grain de blé (à l'effigie du Christ, et on en fait le pain rituel de l'Eucharistie), raisins (le vin est le sang du Seigneur, substance de l'Eucharistie), des fruits et des pépins dont on extrait l'huile (le myron, la sueur de Celui qui a été crucifié), etc. Les fruits à nombreux pépins (grenades, figues) ou avec une forme ronde, signe de l'accomplissement et de la perfection (pomme, grenade) sont dotés de propriétés particulières pour la purification, la fertilisation, comme l'ont déjà mis en évidence plusieurs motifs largement diffusés dans le conte

[6] Gilbert Durand, *Structurile antropologice ale imaginarului* [Les structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire], București, 1977, p. 422, 427.

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fantastique. (Parfois, ils sont remplacés par le poisson, symbole aquatique ancien, christique et fertiliseur).

Le manque de „bénédiction" est un fardeau spirituel qui ne peut être enlevé que par une tentative de récupération de l'état paradisiaque, lorsque la puissance de germination de toute la création a été donnée par la consommation végétale. Les animaux mangent „l'herbe des champs" et l'homme, la graine[7]. Par conséquent, le rôle des végétaux et de leurs graines sont des symboles et des allégories qui, dans la vision chrétienne du monde, ont changé de signification par des processus préalables d'abstraction et de remise en valeur. Le code alimentaire chrétien orthodoxe prévoit la consommation exclusive de la nourriture végétale pendant un grand nombre de jours dans une année – des carêmes de différentes durées et jours coutumiers de la semaine, qui sont répartis dans les trois périodes de l'année liturgique – cette recommandation est, entre autres choses, un moyen de rapprochement de l'homme moderne à l'état paradisiaque. Les plantes, parmi lesquelles quelques arbres fruitiers, peuvent présenter le phénomène de la parthènocarpie par lequel l'ovaire se développe „sans que la fécondation ait eu lieu" et tourne en fruit „dépourvu de graines". Par la parthènocarpie on obtient des pommes, des poires, des raisins, des oranges, des figues. Projeté sur l'être humain, ce type de conception, où l'élément mâle ne participe pas, rappelle le miracle biblique de la naissance de Jésus, où c'est seulement la volonté libre de Marie qui a agi pour recevoir „l'ombre de l'Esprit Saint". Comme un prolongement de la relation sacrée entre homme et végétal dans les rituels funéraires, le bois est une présence constante, à partir du cercueil où le corps du défunt est placé, au pilier, à la croix et à l'arbre qui gardent (entourent) le tombeau; un bois vivant est également l'arbre (pommier, poirier, prunier) orné et donné en aumône pendant les commémorations.

Un moment spécial est réservé au sapin, lorsque l'arbre, abattu dans un cérémonial accompli par les hommes, est orné par des femmes qui accrochent à sa couronne des serviettes, semblables au linceul d'un mort, des formes en pâte et lui chantent *La chanson du sapin*. Il devient le partenaire de la personne décédée dans "l'autre monde", mais aussi l'arbre sous lequel il va se reposer et retrouver la paix dans le Paradis.

Le sapin de mariage, tout comme le sapin qu'on met au sommet de la maison nouvellement construite, ou le sapin qui orne la charrue à l'occasion du Nouvel An, la branche à bourgeons qui a été utilisée en tant que *sorcova* (baguette joyeuse) et

[7] „[...] A toutes les bêtes de la terre et à tous les oiseaux et à tous les animaux qui rampent sur la terre et il ont le souffle de vie en eux, Je leur donne comme nourriture toute la mauvaise herbe" – cf. *Bible*, Génèse, 1: 30); „Voici, je vous donne toutes les herbes qui ont les semences en eux, sur toute la terre, et tous les arbres qui ont des fruits avec la semence en eux. Ceux-ci seront vos nourritures" – cf. *Biblia adică Dumnezeiasca scriptură a Vechiului şi a Noului Testament* tradusă după textele originale ebraice şi greceşti de preoţii profesori Vasile Radu şi Gala Galaction (...) [La Bible. La Divine Ecriture de l'Ancien Testament, traduite de textes originaux hébreux et grecques par de prêtres Professeurs Vasile Radu et Gala Galaction (...)], Bucureşti, 1938: *Facerea* [La Génèse] 1, 30; 1, 29.

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les rameaux verts qu'on met aux fenêtres et aux portes des maisons, aux portes et aux annexes des ménages pour la Saint-Georges, Armindeni, le Dimanche des Rameaux [8], etc. sont également des segments d'arbre, bois vivants, synthèses de toute la valeur et la personnalité du végétal, jamais séparé de sa dimension sacrée qui matérialise le soutien et la croyance en la vie après la mort, en la possibilité d'acquérir la vie éternelle.

Le moment de la récolte de ces segments de bois impose à l'homme un comportement rituel, qui est non seulement l'expression du respect qu'il porte à l'arbre; il s'agit aussi d'une attitude de prise de conscience d'un acte sacrificiel, de rédemption, que l'homme accomplit par rapport au végétal qui ennoblit son existence et lui offre de multiples ouvertures pour pratiquer ses capacités créatives et qui se substitue à lui pendant l'acte sacrificiel.

Dans la culture traditionnelle roumaine, le sapin occupe une place exceptionnelle par le sens, la symbolique, la valeur allégorique, et même par le message théologique. Ayant des racines évidentes dans l'ancien fond d'images caractéristique des cultures développées dans les zones tempérées et du nord de l'Europe, le sapin prend les valeurs sacrées du cèdre que l'Ancien Testament présente comme un arbre choisi par le sage Salomon pour embellir le temple de Jérusalem, pour être, par conséquent, autour de la divinité suprême, délimiter l'espace où se passera la Théophanie. Selon la tradition folklorique roumaine, la croix sur laquelle Jésus a été crucifié était en sapin et peut-être, plus récemment, „croix de pommier doux". Grâce à une association symbolique avec la vieille symbolique de la pomme dans les anciennes cultures de la Méditerranée et de l'Europe centrale, au cours de la période médiévale le pommier obtient la représentativité en tant qu'arbre et fruit du pardon. C'est ainsi qu'il est présenté dans les textes des chants de Noël roumains et dans les légendes de Saint-Élie. La pomme est un symbole de l'arbre du Paradis, de la connaissance et de la vie éternelle, fruit doté de qualités particulières liées au renouveau, au pardon, à la purification, à la fécondité. Dans les chants de Noël, les pommes parfois d'or, sont offertes par Dieu – Jésus au peuple comme un signe de la rémission du péché originel, de la purification et de l'acquis de la vie éternelle, que l'homme peut avoir au paradis, à côté de l'arbre „vivifiant" synonyme de la croix[9].

Les chrétiens marquent leur propre corps par l'image de la croix, en utilisant leur main droite et en touchant leur front et les épaules à droite et à gauche, dans une confession très concise de leur foi en un seul Dieu en trois hypostases. C'est

[8] James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 12 vols, London, 1907; James George Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, 3 vols, London, 1918.

[9] Sabina Ispas, *op. cit.*, 2003; Sabina Ispas, *La pomme – arbre, fleur, fruit – en que symbole de la pensée traditionnelle roumaine / Az alma – fa, virag, gyumolcs – a roman nephagyomanyban*, dans *Plante în folclor / Novenyek a folklorban*, Bucureşti, 2005, p. 256–261; Sabina Ispas, *Colinda tradiţională românească. Sens şi simbol* [Le chant de Noël traditionel roumain, Sens et symbole], Bucureşti, Editura Saeculum I. O, 2007.

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l'une des représentations les plus abstraites de la croix, dont le pouvoir est reconnu sans avoir recours à un objet matériel, concret, et cela prouve une reconnaissance profondément théologique de la part des praticiens. L'apprentissage semble être très ancien, avec des racines dans les temps apostoliques. Tertullien rappelle que pendant sa vie, les chrétiens faisaient le signe de la croix. Une légende de Muntenie nous apprend que, lorsque la croix de la crucifixion a été travaillée (sculptée), l'arbre „a souffert"[10].

Des textes de ce qu'on appelle „le conte de Dieu", retraçant l'histoire de la recherche du Christ par sa mère, Marie, nous apprenons qu'elle le trouve enfin crucifié „sur la croix de sapin, à la porte de Pilate"[11]. Le sapin dont l'outil de torture est fait devient le porteur du corps de la divinité qui apporte à l'humanité par son sacrifice, le pardon des péchés et la vie éternelle, et, finalement, devient lui-même arbre de vie, l'un des arbres que Dieu a mis dans le jardin d'Eden. Le sapin est l'arbre qui est en contact direct avec l'espace sacré, avec la divinité transcendante et l'éternité. Une autre essence de bois, le tilleul, a à son tour accès au sacré, cette fois-ci non pas comme un substitut direct, mais en tant que médiateur, portant le message par l'image. Il accepte sa mission quand, dit l'arbre: l'homme „Fait de moi des icônes/ Lorsqu'il me peint/ Et il écrit (peint) sur moi/ Avec de belles couleurs/ Jésus Christ/ Qui est adoré/ Par des peuples et des foules/ Par toutes les nations"[12]; „Des maîtres viennent et me travaillent/ Des icônes ils font de moi/ Et dans les églises m'accrochent/ Tout le monde m'adore"[13].

Une association constante entre le sacré et le profane autour des essences de bois les plus importantes – en particulier celles qui poussent de manière sauvage – où la volonté divine, exprimée de différentes manières, confère un rôle et attribue à chaque arbre une fonction afin de répondre aux besoins de l'homme, ce qui prouve, à nouveau, une interrelation de l'être humain et le végétal. Les arbres fruitiers que les gens cultivent dans leurs jardins ont une autre „destinée", comme nous le racontent les textes des légendes populaires, à partir du moment de leur croissance dans le jardin d'Eden. Par toutes les qualités qui le définissent, le bois prouve qu'il renferme une sagesse et une connaissance qui transcendent l'humanité.

Piatră [pierre] (<lat. petra) est un nom générique pour tout le rocher dur et cassant qui se trouve à la surface ou à l'intérieur de la terre; celui-ci a diverses utilisations sous forme naturelle ou transformée. Comme syntagme adjectival, „de pierre" désigne une personne ou encore une chose, immobile, dure, insensible

[10] Tony Brill, *op. cit.*

[11] Sim. Fl. Marian, *Legendele Maicii Domnului. Studiu folkloristic de...* [Les légendes de la Mère de Dieu. Une étude folkoristique], Bucureşti, 1904.

[12] Teodorescu, G. Dem., *Cântece de lume* [Chansons du monde], Bucureşti, p. 236-238.

[13] Arhiva Institutului de Etnografie şi Folclor „C. Brăiloiu" [Archive de l'Institute d'Ethnographie et Folklore „C. Brăiloiu"], mg.1853 m, Zagra – Bistriţa Năsăud, 1961.

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(pour les êtres vivants), parfois mauvaise[14]. Le nom fait partie de plusieurs expressions qui leur donne une variété de significations, comme: pierre de touche quand on a en vue le contrôle de la capacité de quelqu'un, des sentiments stables, la pierre philosophale, substance miraculeuse dont les alchimistes croyaient qu'elle pouvait transformer les métaux en or et guérir les maladies, ou pierre angulaire dans la construction de la fondation d'un bâtiment, souvent posée au début dans le cadre d'une solennité, elle est devenue symboliquement, la pierre angulaire, sur laquelle est construite l'église, qui, dans le sens chrétien, est Jésus[15].

Les résidents d'Arménie, appelé Pays de Pierre, ont commencé à remplacer pendant les siècles IV-VII, les croix de bois, „croix aux bras" ou „aux ailes" comme on les appelait, par des croix en pierre[16]. Suivant une vieille tradition qui traverse les VIII-VIIèmes siècles avant l'ère chrétienne (dès le début des piliers et des étoiles découverts dans Ourartou, le royaume qui s'est développé dans l'âge de fer autour du lac de Van) avec des racines dans les menhirs et les dolmens du néolithique, les premiers chrétiens se sont réunis pour la prière et le culte autour des monuments de pierre marqués du signe de la croix, où il y avait des autels érigés à la mémoire des martyrs. A partir de ceux-ci, des œuvres d'art incomparables travaillées en pierre se sont développées; ils sont nommés *khacikar* (Khac – „croix"; kar – „pierre")[17].

L'Arménie est considérée comme l'un des premiers pays qui ont adopté le christianisme, ayant une Eglise apostolique fondée par des actions missionaires et de prédication des deux disciples de Jésus, Thaddée et Barthélemy. Il est donc attendu que dans la culture traditionnelle arménienne l'on puisse identifier des signes et des symboles enracinés dans cette première période, où les formes et les allégories archaïques ont changé de sens, ont été restructurées et dotées d'un message profondément différent, amené par le monothéisme, d'abord dans le monde oriental. La légende qui raconte la vision de saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur, celui qui a eu le rôle prépondérant dans la christianisation officielle du royaume d'Arménie (sous le règne de Tiridate III: 287-330) a comme image centrale une croix en flammes, à côté de trois autres, ce qui profile la construction de la cathédrale d'Ecimiadzin[18]. Une telle croix aux rayons, familière à la culture chrétienne arménienne, peut être reconnue dans le texte poétique du chant de Noël roumain qui rappelle un „soleil aux trois petits rayons", image de Jésus appelé dans les textes anciens „soleil de justice", „l'Orient d'en haut", l'énergie divine qui sous la forme de la lumière descend sur le monde et le sanctifie. Plus tard, la croix

[14] *Dicţionar explicativ* [...].

[15] Ibidem.

[16] Meliné Poladian Ghenea, *Ipostaze ale simbolului cruciform în arta armeană* [Hypostases du symbole cruciform dans l'art arménienne], Bucureşti, Editura Ararat, 2001 p. 76-79.

[17] Ibidem.

[18] Anaïs Nersesian, *Din istoria armenilor* [De l'histoire des Arméniens], Bucureşti, Ararat, 2006, p. 93-113.

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arménienne sera appelée la croix „aux bourgeons" (*gogeac* – avec des boutons, en boucles), référence claire au matériel végétal, le bois dont a été sculpté la croix de la crucifixion reconfigurée en pierre et devenant khacikar[19]. Par ailleurs, depuis le début du Moyen Age les miniaturistes arméniens ont utilisé l'image de la végétation avec tout son symbolisme qui lui a été attribué, l'un des symboles les plus reconnaissables et répandus de la culture universelle étant celui de l'arbre de vie [20].

Pour le monde chrétien, depuis le début, cet arbre est la croix. Les exégètes de l'art arménien, en simplifiant les formes et en les réduisant à de simples structures géométriques, découvrent des variantes de la croix qui s'incarne dans des cercles concentriques – „la graine et le monde" – unifiée par trois lignes, comme des expressions de la Sainte Trinité, entourées de bourgeons, des feuilles et des fleurs; le végétal ainsi représenté devient un gage de la vie éternelle, de la puissance par laquelle la disparition, la mort sont retirées de la création. Selon la façon dont ils sont constituées, les vignettes représentant l'arbre de vie deviennent, en même temps, des arbres généalogiques de l'humanité depuis les protoparents Adam et Eve, jusqu'à l'homme d'aujourd'hui[21]. Presque toute la calligraphie arménienne, sans égard au matériel sur laquelle elle est réalisée, parchemin, papier, bois ou pierre, commence par l'image de la croix, qui est elle-même bois sacré grâce au fait que ce matériel touche au corps de la divinité sacrée.

„À l'approche du domaine des plantes, l'art arménien le soumet aux deux principales méthodes de sa conception d'utilisation: décomposer en éléments de base et les recomposer sur la base des certains critères et principes. Il s'agit, d'une part, de la simplification jusqu'à l'essentiel de l'ensemble et de ses parties afin de les rassembler ensuite de nouveau en combinaisons de plus en plus éloignées des modèles naturels, afin d'exprimer à travers eux quelques idées aussi complexes que profondes. C'est également ce que l'esthétique d'Europe occidentale considère comme étant «le style oriental-décoratif arménien», complété par le principe – également oriental, connu sous le nom d'horreur vacui – à savoir éviter les lacunes"[22]. Au-delà d'un symbolisme simpliste associant des fleurs, des fruits, des graines, des végétaux en général aux cultes de la fertilité, la fécondité et de l'éros, ces expressions de la création divine sont des images, des préfigurations et même des évocations du jardin d'Eden. C'est le lieu où Dieu a placé le premier couple humain, un lieu d'harmonie et d'équilibre, que „l'homme déchu" cherche à récupérer à travers tout un système de célébrations et commémorations, actes rituels qui visent à maintenir le sacré positif fermement actif dans sa vie terrestre[23]. A côté des constructions architecturales, peinture murale, miniature, la synthèse symbolique théologique qu'est le khacikar envoie des messages par l'intermédiaire du langage synthétique de l'art en devenant, de manière dominante, image de la croix comme un „arbre de vie" dans la culture des principautés

[19] Meliné Poladian Ghenea, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[20] Gilbert Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[21] Meliné Poladian Ghenea, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[22] Idem, p. 27.
[23] Sabina Ispas, *Hypostases du végétal* [...].

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arméniennes dans la seconde moitié du IXème siècle. De telles croix de pierre sont placées autour ou sur les murs des églises, aux carrefours ou le long des chemins, autour des fontaines, dans des places, dans les cimetières, en particulier, servant à protéger les gens et l'espace qu'ils habitent. Cette vision de la sainteté du monde est spécifique à la tradition roumaine orthodoxe lorsqu'elle marque les espaces importants pour la vie humaine des croix protectrices en bois ou même en pierre: les routes et les carrefours, les frontières (on connaît bien „les croix de frontière"), les puits et les sources, les endroits où il y avait des lieux de culte ou bien des ermitages, des prières (des croix érigées aux clôtures, à l'intérieur des cours, ou près des arbres ou des fontaines pour les âmes des morts étrangers – cénotaphes) ou dans les lieux où quelqu'un est mort de „mort subite" et bien sûr, les croix dans le cimetière. Celles-ci font l'objet, dans certaines régions du pays, tels que l'Olténie, de tout un rituel d'élévation, au bout de 40 jours, auprès de la tombe, après le jour de l'enterrement quand à la tête du mort on élève le pilier et le sapin. Il y a une similitude fonctionnelle – au-delà de la matière dans laquelle la croix a été travaillée et les moyens par lesquels elle a été ornée – qui ne peut pas être ignorée. La forme de croix dans les cimetières rappelle, dans les mêmes zones au sud de la Roumanie, l'arbre dans le Jardin d'Eden. Souvent mentionné dans les textes des chants de Noël comme un pommier plein de fruits dont on nous dit que Jésus lui-même partage les fruits aux gens, comme un signe du pardon, du salut et la vie éternelle, il est évoqué d'une manière allégorique même dans le conte de fées fantastiques. Les fonctions de protection, mémoriales, votives, qui dans d'autres cultures et religions sont affectées à d'autres éléments naturels ou transformés, reviennent, dans les cultures arméniennes et roumaines chrétiennes, aux croix en pierre ou en bois. Beaucoup de ces monuments en forme de croix sont dotés par la piété populaire avec des pouvoirs de guérison.

En Roumanie, on connait la croix de pierre du monastère de Dervent, dont on dit qu'elle est source de la myrrhe; les gens y viennent en pèlerinage pour l'adorer, parfois en traversant de grandes distances[24]. Les croix de pierre de différentes tailles en particulier sont regroupées – 2, 3, 4 – beaucoup sont associés à la famille composée de parents et des enfants; à leur sujet des légendes circulent sur les circonstances dans lesquelles la mère et les enfants habituellement sont morts, ou la famille en général. Sur toutes ces représentations de la croix on a gravé des images végétales qui, ensemble, se profilent comme une arborescence de l'arbre de la vie éternelle dans le Paradis; il a le tronc-croix, des branches, des fleurs et des fruits avec des graines.

Dans l'art arménien de la modélisation des khacikars, on peut suivre „l'évolution du décor végétal stylisé à une géométrisation de plus en plus marquée, pour arriver finalement à imposer un style géométrique total, dont les racines végétales initiales se font saisir de moins en moins"[25].

Présent dans le texte poétique rituel ou dans le texte édifiant de circulation par voie orale, par l'intermédiaire du plus fort médiateur, la parole, modélisée sous la forme de croix de bois ou de pierre, peinte sur bois ou sculptée dans la roche

[24] Gheorghiță Ciocioi, Şerban Tica, Amalia Dragne, *Ghidul mănăstirilor din România* [Le guide des monastères de Roumanie], Bucureşti, Editura Sophia, 2011, p. 36.

[25] Meliné Poladian Ghenea, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

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dure, le végétal et, en particulier, sa forme la plus robuste et faisant autorité, l'arbre, signifie pour la culture chrétienne la croix ancienne de Jésus et représente pour ceux qui la reconnaissent le témoignage de foi.

Photo 1, 2: „Croix de bénédiction" (Transylvanie céntrale) et croix copte de procession[26].

Photo 3, 4: Croix Roumaine en pierre (Pietroasele, Buzău)[27]; des croix en bois (Cetatea, Dolj)[28].

[26] Photos de M. Marian-Bălaşa.

[27] Les Archives de l'Institute d'éthnographie et folclore „C. Brăiloiu", 853/7.

[28] Kurt Hielscher, *Rumänien / România. Natură, clădiri, viaţă populară* [La Roumanie. Nature, édifices, vie populaire], Leipzig, F.A. Brockhaus, 1933, illustration 40.

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Photo 5, 6: Armenian khacikars[29].

[29] Vlad Bedros, *Patrimoniu artistic armenesc în România. Între nostalgia exilului şi integrarea culturală* [Patrimoine artistique arménian in Roumanie. Entre la nostalgie de l'éxile et l'intégration culturelle], Bucureşti, Noi Media Print, [sans anée], p. 44, 135 (avec l'accepte de l'auteur).

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"THE WORLD OF THE HAIDUKS": BANDIT SUBCULTURES IN THE 19TH CENTURY ROMANIA AND THEIR BALLADS

BOGDAN-VLAD VĂTAVU

ABSTRACT

Banditry in 19th century Romania, as in all early modern societies, is quite a frequent phenomenon. Traditionally called *haiduks*, the men that resorted to robbery in the era are the subject of various historical accounts but also of a rather rich popular culture, especially in the form of folk balladry that celebrates their exploits. Usually analyzed in 'class struggle' terms by most Romanian historians and folklorists, these *haiduk* ballads were interpreted as manifestations of peasant discontent and social protest. However, on a careful inspection, these folksongs rarely, if ever, paint such well-defined bandit portraits, quite frequently the outlaws in these ballads being favorably depicted as robbing those closer to their social status. In this paper, I argue in favor of a more sociological interpretation of such balladry that accounts for these discrepancies. Instead of seeing them as expressions of class tensions, these folksongs should rather be regarded as indicators of a delinquent subculture (or subcultures). The main assumption of this hypothesis, as subcultural theories developed by criminologists in the past century maintain, is that such subcultures elaborate distinct lifeways that celebrate, justify and encourage delinquent behavior. Independently of the social status of the victims and the purpose of the robberies that the bandits perform, the ballads that sing their deeds are almost always favorable to them. This is because the production of the folklore around the bandit is rooted in the very same subcultural milieu where he originates from. However, when in conflict with other distinct segments of society that also employ folklore as the social expression of their lives, bandits are often represented as hostile and threatening to the values of such groups.

Keywords: social bandits, haiduks, delinquent subcultures, popular culture, ballads, folksongs.

To say that all early modern societies are ridden with banditry is a truism today. There are, indeed, prominent bandit figures all over the world in the 18th and 19th centuries, from Dick Turpin in early 1700's Britain, to Jesse James in reconstruction era United States, or even Pancho Villa during the 1910 Mexican Revolution, extending banditry well into the 20th century. The Romanian territories make no exception, the most famous of its outlaws being active during the same period. At times, what we actually know about these bandits comes almost entirely from folk culture since official documents usually lack. Certainly, in the last half-century our documentary and theoretical knowledge concerning banditry has essentially improved thanks to the work devoted to it by such noted historians as Eric Hobsbawm and

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those who followed in his footsteps after his path-breaking study, *Bandits*, appeared in 1969.[1] As for popular culture, as source material for the lives of these outlaws, one can only say that it had a peculiar fate during the debate on the nature of banditry, a fate closely linked to the two main directions of study that the same debate sparkled.

First, there's Hobsbawm model of the *social bandit* popularized by the aforementioned book. What the British historian contended – in his work and in the following, otherwise frequently cited fragment – was that *social bandits* are "peasant outlaws whom the lord and state regard as criminals, but who remain within peasant society, and are considered by their people as heroes, as champions, avengers, fighters for justice, perhaps even leaders of liberation, and in any case as men to be admired, helped and supported."[2] Further in his study, Eric Hobsbawm delineates the social protest that the bandit advocates, albeit in a poorly articulated manner, thus enclosing *social banditry* in a Marxist framework. In support of his theory, Hobsbawm appeals to the very strong bandit tradition that one finds in literally every culture. This attracted the critique of Dutch anthropologist Anton Blok, the first of the many to question the model of the *social bandit*, who in a seminal article from 1972 pointed towards the complex relationships that bandits everywhere entertained with other social categories, mainly with the elites. "Rather than actual champions of the poor and the weak – Blok remarked – bandits quite often terrorized those from whose very ranks they managed to rise, and thus helped to suppress them."[3] As for the bandit tradition embodied in Hobsbawm's model, Anton Blok dismisses it as "a construct, stereotype, or figment of human imagination."[4]

This two-sided debate attracted the dissatisfaction of recent scholarship.[5] Paul Sant Cassia, for instance, blames Hobsbawm for essentializing the concept of banditry in "too narrowly Marxist terms", while "Blok and his followers do not take representations of banditry into account"[6], and although he does not satisfactorily address the issue of popular culture[7], Sant Cassia does make a good point about the

[1] Hobsbawm 2001.

[2] Idem: 20.

[3] Blok 1972: 496.

[4] Idem: 500.

[5] For example, in Curtot, Fink 2012. The article also offers a comprehensible, more expanded review of the existing theories.

[6] Sant Cassia 2000: 65-66.

[7] Paul Sant Cassia tends to overlook folklore and peasant representations of the bandits in favor of the nation-state mythology which, indeed, employed the bandit figure for its nationalistic purposes. When he finally addresses peasant representations, his reflections are brief and do not explain the social or political functions that these representations hold: "Peasant idealization of bandits is also variable and a function of their subsequent political evolution. In contrast to Hobsbawm, I argue that bandits do not necessarily «belong to the peasantry», they often belong to those groups who sponsor or control the production of these symbols often in literary form. In certain cases bandits may belong to the peasantry only because those who peddled these images were themselves of recent humble origins eager to legitimate themselves. This occurred in Greece with klephts, such as Kolokotronis and Makriyiannis. In Brazil and elsewhere, through the *literatura de cordel*, bandits belong to the peasantry because they are incorporated in widely-circulated chap books (...). Bandits often belong solely to the peasantry because no other social group has a need for them and because they are often forgotten" (idem: 93-94).

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limitations of the existing theories. In the present study, I wish to take Sant Cassia's reasoning further and argue, on the same note, that representations of bandits are essential in understanding banditry, especially when they come in the form of folk balladry produced in the same milieus that the bandits themselves populated, rather than in the form of popular novels or romantic literature (which were the focus in Sant Cassia's contribution). To exemplify, I will use the large corpus of Romanian balladry. I argue in favor of a more sociological approach, since the Marxist framework used by both Hobsbawm and the Romanian folklorists and historians does not adequately address the problematics of bandit folklore, nor, I dare say, those of banditry in general.[8] Of all the sociological theories that account for the production of such forms of popular culture, *subcultural theories* seem to be the most appropriate. The general assumption of these theories is that delinquent behavior usually develops within a group setting. Such a group "devotes some or all of its time to planning, committing, or celebrating delinquencies" and elaborates "a set of lifeways – a subculture – which encourages and justifies behavior defined as delinquent by the larger society."[9] But before turning to the sociological explanations we should first familiarize ourselves with what the Romanian scholars had to say about these bandits and see why their theories are limited in giving a plausible account for the production and social function of bandit balladry.

HAIDUKS AND MERE ROBBERS. THE PARADIGMS OF THE ROMANIAN SCHOLARSHIP ON BANDITRY

Romanian folk balladry, just like the ballads of most of the Balkan peoples, usually calls its bandits *haiduks*, although other terms are also employed (*hoţoman, hoţ, voinic*). The popularity that these characters enjoy in folklore has prompted certain scholars to regard their activities as a form of banditry specific to the Balkans.[10] From their discovery in the 19th century – along with other types of songs and forms of popular culture – the *haiduk* ballads that detail these bandits' lives were seen as evidence for the existence of the 'noble robber', an otherwise common conclusion all over the Europe of the same period, where similar popular figures captured the imagination of European elites, with the advent of Romanticism. Not very different from their western counterparts, the Romanian *haiduks*, as portrayed by the local elites, were endowed with all the distinctive traits of 'noble banditry'. *Haiduks* robbed the rich to give to the poor and they frequently punished the noblemen and the authorities for their abusive behavior.

[8] It is curious that the *social bandit* debate never actually veered in the field of sociological criminology, in spite of some encouragements in this direction, coming mainly from sociologists (see especially Cohen 1986, Lea 1999, Birkbeck 1990: 160). As the cited authors advocate, the debate has a lot to gain from opening up to the theoretical advances in the sociology of crime.

[9] Bordua 1961: 120. Along with this review of the existing subcultural theories, a more recent one, also employed for the purpose of this article, is to be found in Shoemaker 2010: 141-179.

[10] See Iancovici 1964.

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This portrait, the very same elites maintained, was derived solely from the accounts that folklore provided to them, although, in truth, all the *haiduk* biographies of the time were rather modeled on similar western typologies in accordance with the Romantic sensibility of the day.[11] Further advances in both folkloristics and folklore collection did not damage the image of the *haiduk*, as one might expect, but actually reinforced it. First, the folklorists gradually abandoned the general conviction of the time that folk ballads were historically accurate.[12] They were not 'true' from a factual point of view, but they still articulated the true attitudes and feelings of the people. Therefore, *haiduks* had to exist historically otherwise we wouldn't have had such a rich popular culture pertaining to them. Then, as numerous new variants and folksongs were added to the national collections (even well beyond the middle of the 20th century) some scholars became aware of the fact that the bandit figures in these songs never fully fitted the description of the 'noble robber', frequently acting rather erratically and displaying less of a social conscience than had been previously thought. The reaction to this find was not as unitary as was the case with the historical accuracy of the ballad. Many in the academic community chose to ignore this fact entirely, lumping together all the outlaw characters they encountered in the category of 'noble bandits', just as had been done before. Those who did actually acknowledge this inconsistency with the generally accepted model, dealt with the issue by introducing the dichotomy between the *haiduk* (i.e. the 'noble robber') and the mere robber, pinning these labels on different outlaw figures, as they saw fit.[13] And while the insertion of certain bandits in one or the other category did seem to solve the problem (despite the fact that the same categories are not easily discernible in folklore, as I intend to prove) some questions remained unasked. For instance, why would a character that "strives not for social justice, but for his own enrichment"[14], in Adrian Fochi's

[11] Costache Negruzzi, one of the leading Romanian Romantic figures, in one of the first studies of Romanian folklore, refers to the domestic bandits he informs upon by employing western examples as archetype: "Moldavia had its own *Fra Diavoli* from all the classes of society" (Negruzzi 1840: 127-128). Furthermore, the influence of Romantic literature and of western travelers in the area contributed significantly to the sketching of the idealized portrait of the bandit, see Grancea 2009: 128; Leerssen, Neubauer, Cornis-Pope, Kliac, Marcoviç 2004: 409.

[12] The historicity of folklore is beyond the scope of this study. There is a great body of scholarship on the matter that actually disproves the connection between historical and poetical facts. Still, despite the theoretical advances, some Romanian historians still resort to folklore to fill the gaps where official documents are silent. The more recent examples are Barbu 2010; Dieaconu, Nicola, Ungureanu, Juncănaru 2013.

[13] The distribution of one outlaw in one category or the other is truly an arbitrary act in the works of Romanian scholars. For example, Dimitrie Marmeliuc, at the beginning of the 20th century, includes Radu Anghel, Ion Pietraru and Ioniţă Tunsu among common thieves, although all of them were highly regarded by the Romantics before him, see Marmeliuc 1915: 110-120. Also, Codreanu, a very popular *haiduk* figure in the 19th century is usually included in the category of mere robber in the studies and typologies of the 20th century, see Amzulescu 1964/I: 172.

[14] Fochi 1985: 67.

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words, be sung and celebrated at all by a society which, the same scholars maintain when speaking about *haiduks*, values social justice and the redistribution of wealth? However, such questions did not bother Romanian academics too much, their efforts being centered, just as before, on the personality of the socially conscious *haiduk*, while the 'mere robber' was only mentioned as antihero, but never seriously considered for scholarly work.[15] Therefore, the spotlight remained on the *haiduk* and the only theoretical framework employed to explain his popularity in folklore was that of class struggle and social protest. The analysis became fully fledged Marxist-dogmatic during the first decades of communist rule in Romania when major, influential studies of *haiduk* folklore appeared.[16] It is also in the same period that the first thoroughly documented historical studies on banditry surfaced, but in accordance with the spirit of the age and the demands of the Party, these works also had the task to prove the class character of *haiduk* activity.[17] This not only reinforced the already old class perspective on outlawry, but also pulled the Romanian scholarship into a vicious circle, folklorists and historians relying on each others' finds to actually confirm their already validated hypotheses. Today, things aren't any better. Apart from a minority revisionist historiography that relies on empirical evidence to disprove the myth of the *haiduk*,[18] there isn't hardly a change in what concerns the popular culture of banditry, its meaning and significance.[19]

But why is the class perspective so limited when it comes to discussing *haiduk* balladry? Certainly, 19th century Romania was a class-based society, as most of the world at that time, and folklore surely expresses class contradictions as is evident from this widely circulated Romanian ballad, tellingly entitled "The Rich

[15] Professor Toader Nicoară adequately summarizes the situation: "The haiduk was a positive character by excellence, who took from the rich to give to the poor. A rather shabby reading, that had less to do with reality. Literature, especially popular literature as well as folklore, exploited to the fullest this popular epos [...], while the phenomenon of brigandage, of highway robbery, was of almost no interest to the historians, because it did not fit the dominant historiographic paradigm; the Romanians are not thieves, the Romanians do not steal, therefore there is no object, no topic for such problematics" (Nicoară 2010: 3).

[16] Ionescu-Nişcov 1958; Amzulescu 1963; Marin-Buga 1963; Amzulescu 1964/I: 14-24, Vrabie 1966: 393-404. There were, of course, major works on *haiduk* folklore even before the advent of communism, but only afterwards adequate instruments of analysis were developed (catalogs, motif-indexes etc.), see Bîrlea, Ispas 2010.

[17] Some of the more informed studies of the era are Iancovici 1960; Niculescu 1962; Iancovici 1967; Neacşu 1968.

[18] Leu 1997. See also the studies gathered in Nicoară 2010.

[19] Possibly with the exception of Mihaela Grancea's essay on popular and elite perceptions of Romanian banditry, where she points to the "sweetening" of the popular culture performed by the Romantic elite, but fails to account for the social function that it had in traditional peasant communities (Grancea 2009). In the field of folkloristics, Sabina Ispas's article *The Ballads of the Horse Thieves* does indeed include banditry into a "phenomenology of marginality" admitting even the existence of a "counter society", but still holds the distinction between the mere robber and the *haiduk* (Ispas 2007).

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Man and the Pauper" (*Bogatul şi săracul*). The narrative presents the face-to-face meeting of the pauper with the rich man in a tavern. While the former has no money at all to carouse, the latter not only that has the necessary means to enjoy himself, but also brags to the less fortunate with his riches:

"– Măi sărace, sărăcilă,	Listen, ragged-trousered jack,
Nu-ţi pune mintea cu mine,	Don't compete with me – you lack
Că n-ai cămaşă pe tine.	E'en a shirt unto your back!
Eu am vii şi am moşii,	I have vineyards and estates,
Buzunarele cu mii,	Money, gold and silver plates,
Şi am care ferecate,	Carts and carriages with wheels
Numai cu fiare legate!"	Hooped with the best irons and steels!

This obviously enrages the poor man who lashes back at the rich man, but also paints the picture of what seems to be, a step by step description of how a man is pushed into a *haiduk* career:

"– Măi bogate, dumneata,	Look, sir, though you wealthy be,
Nu face-mpotriva mea,	Make no fun like this of me;
Că mă scoţi din balamale	If you anger me, mind you,
Şi-ţi pui măciuca pe şale.	I shall beat you black and blue!
...	...
Alelei, ciocoi, ciocoi,	Noblemen and lords and counts,
Să mă răfuiesc cu voi,	With you I will square accounts!
Că m-aţi pus să trag la plug,	At the plough you have me rode,
M-aţi luat cu prăjina-n lung,	Pushed and drove me with the goad,
V-am muncit, v-am alergat,	I have toiled for you, have run,
Nebăut şi nemâncat.	Hungry, thirsty, woe-begone
...	...
Dacă văzui şi văzui,	Seeing this, in the long run,
Îmi luai drumul codrului.	To the forest I was gone.
Eu ochesc, durda pocneşte,	I took aim, loud cracked the gun,
Ciocoiul se svârcoleşte...	The lord writhed and lost his breath -
Las' să moară ca un câine	Let him die of a dog's death.[20]

It is this sort of balladry that prompted Romantics and Marxist historians and folklorists alike (Hobsbawm and his followers included) to see bandit activity from a class struggle perspective. It is true that banditry was most probably produced by

[20] Leviţchi, Bantaş, Duţescu, Margul-Spelber, Snodgrass 1980: 306-309 (translated by Leon D. Leviţchi).

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structural social inequities and blocked economic aspirations,[21] but it is far from protest as many of these scholars claim, while such a class consciousness, as the one displayed by the unfortunate character in the folksong reproduced here, is not that uniform as it may seem.[22] There are multiple examples within the *haiduk* ballad genre to disprove such well defined portraits as historians and folklorists might expect.

For instance, *haiduks* frequently show no discrimination between their victims on a social basis. Iancu Jianu, one of the most beloved bandit figures in Romania, is usually presented as drinking wine without paying it, stealing lambs from shepherds, horses from horse dealers or bread from bakers since, as he himself argues in his ballad: "If I had to pay/ Why would I be a haiduk, anyway? (Când oi sta să tot plătesc/La ce focu haiducesc?)" Moreover, the same folksong sometimes introduces Jianu and his gang as a serious nuisance fallen on the shoulders of the community, which, in desperation, petitions the ruler of the country:

„Uite-ai dracului înfocați	It's the proud devils
Cum se plimbă de harmați,	Wandering well-armed,
Cu frânte arme-ncărcați!	Their rifles loaded!
Umblă ca niște turbați,	They act like they're rabid,
Seacă creștini la ficați!	Draining the liver out of the Christians!
Pe care prindea	Whoever they would have caught,
Smulgea,	They would have torn him up,
Prea, frate, lumea speria,	Much too scared the people were,
Da jalbă la Caragea."	That they petitioned Caragea (i.e. the ruler).[23]

And Jianu is not the only folksong character to display such behavior worthy of a mere robber, many other folklorists noticing the same in other *haiduks'* cases, especially when it comes to their relationship with the shepherds.[24] This does not prompt them to doubt their model. Nor does the fact that bandits, when in conflict with the supreme authority (i.e. the ruler of the country, the voivode), sometimes

[21] While not very popular among the scholars preoccupied with banditry, sociologist Robert K. Merton's very influential *strain theory*, and its more recent developments, might prove more useful in explaining why a man might become an outlaw. Basically, Merton asserts that delinquent behavior is produced by the limited or blocked opportunities to reach culturally defined goals by legitimate means (Merton 1949: 125-149). For the newer theoretical advances in *strain theory* see Shoemaker 2010: 120-131.

[22] In fact, class consciousness is not uniform at all with all the members of a specific class. French peasants, Karl Marx argued, had a consistent lack of it. See on these matters Elster 1986: 129-134. "Class consciousness or 'horizontal solidarity' was largely lacking." says Peter Burke, when examining popular responses to general wrongs in European popular culture (Burke 1978: 176).

[23] Tocilescu, Țapu 1980: 242 (my translation).

[24] The most detailed account of *haiduk* – shepherd conflict is to be found in Densușianu 1923: 26-32, but it is an acknowledged fact by most scholars, see Popescu 1988: 173; Vrabie 1966: 395.

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end up being in cahoots with this ultimate class enemy who gives his blessing to the outlaws, as this quite frequent formula attests: "For as long as I rule/Be a haiduk if you will (Cât voi fi eu în domnie,/Să fii şi tu în haiducie)".[25] And if you add the countless episodes of unnecessary violence on the part of the bandits,[26] the class consciousness approach becomes quite shaky.

Researchers on the matter of bandit balladry have diverse reactions to such recurrences. Some bring to their favor the already mentioned *haiduk* – mere robber dichotomy, pointing that certain figures could be included in a ballad category of their own, which some chose to name "horse-thief balladry", others "common robber balladry" (*balade hoţomăneşti*). But the distinction is quite arbitrary, since many of these bandits appear under the *haiduk* category in some collections and studies and under 'the mere robber' category in others. Furthermore, classifying these figures on this basis becomes quite difficult when a bandit is portrayed, in the different variants of a ballad, as *haiduk*, common robber, horse-thief or even pretender to the throne, as Alexandru Amzulescu pointed out.[27] Moreover, such popular figures among both the elite and the commoners as the aforementioned Iancu Jianu or Ioniţă Tunsu, though very often presented as a 'mere robbers' in the folksongs dedicated to them (if we were to apply the same interpretation grid) are always included among *haiduks* on account of their good name among the Romantics. At the same time, those same folklorists that make such distinctions are careful to point out that the difference between *haiduk* and mere robber balladry is not at all easily discernible in popular culture,[28] making their previous statements quite confusing. Others chose to see these inconsistencies as anomalies, as exceptions to the rule, which they hastily dismiss with no explanation whatsoever.[29] That such instances were recorded on so many occasions ultimately accounts for the fact that these, not-so-socially conscious bandits, were sung and appreciated by certain audiences.

In fact, we rarely find in Romanian balladry such well-elaborated narratives as that reported by Eric Hobsbawm about Jesse James lending money to a poor widow "to meet her debt to a banker, then to have held up the banker and taken the money back".[30] Most commonly, one finds the *haiduks* banqueting in the woods or in taverns and

[25] The formula is quite wide-spread, as is attested by Fochi 1985: 64 (my translation). The alliance between the king and the bandit is not seen as conflicting with the outlaw's general principles in Hobsbawm's theory of the *social bandit*, since his aim is modest, being limited only to "the restoration of traditional order". Therefore, he is not seeking to overthrow the king, but rather to restore the rule of law in his corrupt kingdom (Hobsbawm 2001: 29, 58-59).

[26] On these episodes see Grancea 2009: 136-137, note 54.

[27] Amzulescu 1964/I: 22.

[28] Idem: 96-97; Fochi 1985: 68.

[29] Barbu 2010: 151.

[30] Hobsbawm 2001: 48-49. "The identical story – Hobsbawm asserts in a footnote to the quoted fragment – is told of Maté Cosido, the leading social bandit of Argentine Chaco in the 1930s." I suspect that such well-elaborated class conscious characters appear in a popular culture quite different from that of the illiterate peasantry of 19th century Eastern Europe. Jesse James's myth is probably the product of a more 'refined' society, than that of the literate and politically conscious farmers of Reconstruction era Missouri; for the social and cultural background of this outlaw see Stiles 2003.

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inns, courting girls and barmaids, fighting the posse sent after them by the authorities, robbing noblemen and merchants and usually sporting a defiant and valiant attitude, as exemplified in this folksong about the famous outlaw Bujor:

"Frunză verde de negară,
La Focşani, între hotară,
Este-un bordei cam plecat,
De copaci încungiurat.
Acolo-i Bujor culcat,
La Aniţa, văduviţa
Ce-i tot dă vin cu vădriţa
Şi-l îmbată cu guriţa:
– Aniţico, draga mea,
Mult mi-e dor de-o floricea,
Floricică rumeoară
Care-o porţi în buzişoară!
...
– Na şi na guriţa mea,
De-o sărută cât îi vrea,
Iar de beut nu mai bea,
Că potera-i cât colea
– La's să vie, că nu-mi pasă
Când mi-e paloşul pe masă
Şi mândruţa drăgăstoasă"

Green leaf of the maple-tree,
At Focşani near the wide lea
Stands a hut, a bit aslant
In a ring of elm-trees pent.
There with widow Ann at hand
Frolics Bujor cheerfully
And she serves him wine and glee:
Drunk soon with her lips gets he.
«Annie dear, my bliss and bond,
Of two flowers I am fond
Of two crimson flowers dear,
From your lips I pluck them here.»
...
«Have my lips and kiss them sore,
You shall get them evermore.
But stop drinking, I'm afraid
Lest the catchpoles lie in wait!»
«Never mind them, mind my word:
Sweetest love and trusty sword
Are my shelter and my guard!»[31]

All these narratives are simple, rarely pointing to class conflicts other than the bandit's own with the lord or the authorities,[32] as in "The Rich Man and the Pauper" (*Bogatul şi săracul*) ballad. Of course, the transfer of wealth, the mark of 'noble banditry', is recurrent in Romanian balladry but never in such well-developed plots like the already mentioned Jesse James episode.[33] Most frequently,

[31] Leviţchi, Bantaş, Duţescu, Margul-Spelber, Snodgrass 1980: 312-313 (translated by Alfred Margul-Sperber).

[32] One exception is *Buruleanu*, a ballad about an exploitative noble who, unsatisfied by the mowing work done by the peasants, curses them, enraging the *haiduk* who punishes him, see Teodorescu 1982: 654-656. All the subjects and variants of *haiduk* and 'mere robber' balladry are inventoried in Amzulescu 1981: 110-152.

[33] Some Romanian *haiduk* legends, on the other hand, seem to portray the protagonist as possessing a more developed class consciousness, as the Marxist scholars might put it. The outlaw Bucur, for instance, impressed by the story of a woman compelled to sell the only cow she had in order to be able to pay her taxes, gives her the money she needed and lets her keep the cow as well, so she can feed milk to her children. But, the woman with the *haiduk*'s money in the purse, still plans to sell the cow in the nearby market. Only that Bucur stumbles upon her again, and seeing that she did not turn home as he instructed her, the *haiduk* actually hangs her from a tree, by her hair. What this and other legends demonstrate is that *haiduk* activity is centered at its most on such traditional values such as charity and keeping one's word, rather than on social protest; see the legend in Brill 1970: 181.

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such acts are condensed in a short formula which (just like the "For as long as I rule/Be a haiduk if you will" formula) one commonly finds in various ballads. Usually, this formula is uttered by the captured bandit when the judge asks him of the whereabouts of the riches he stole:

„Le-am ascuns pe la copaci,	Under trees I hid them low,
De-agiutor la cei săraci,	On the poor help to bestow,
Să-şi cumpere boi şi vaci!"	Bought them many an ox and cow.[34]

So, there are no elaborate narratives to prove the distinctive class consciousness of any of these bandits, but there are formulas that briefly express it, just like there are formulas that express no class solidarity at all, as we have seen the above examples (e.g. "If I had to pay/ Why would I be a haiduk, anyway?"). These formulas are very important. Along with themes (i.e. groups of ideas employed in telling tales in the formulaic manner of the folksong), they are the fabric of the ballad. But it is the performer's choice if they are employed or not during the performance of the song.[35] Certainly, the fact that they are so wide-spread accounts for their appreciation by the audience. It also accounts for what Alexandru Amzulescu calls "the sometimes confuse attitude of the ballad hero"[36] who displays such a diverse behavior, often in the same folksong. And, although Amzulescu tries to dismiss the explanation in a Gramscian manner, stating that the "confusion" was worked into popular culture by the ruling class, he is probably wrong since the sort of hegemony he hints at is refuted by Antonio Gramsci himself, who argued that in preindustrial societies (such as 19th century Romania) the elites had few contacts with subordinate groups, therefore few intentions of imposing their cultural hegemony.[37] Eric Hobsbawm, with his theory of the *social bandit*, which is in fact far removed from the Marxist-dogmatic brand of Romanian scholarship, is probably more to the point. He admits that: "A man may be a social bandit on his native mountains, a mere robber on the plains.",[38] therefore he acknowledges the possibility of different perspectives on banditry within the same peasant class, at least on a regional basis.

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[34] Levițchi, Bantaş, Duțescu, Margul-Spelber, Snodgrass 1980: 314-315 (translated by Alfred Margul-Sperber). The case is actually similar to the earliest of the Robin Hood ballads. Barbara Hanawalt points out that "The poems cite no specific aid to the poor", the only lines that hint at this being expressed in a typical formulaic manner not very different from the ones in Romanian folk poetry (Hanawalt 1992: 166-167).

[35] See on the process of composing/performing of balladry by the use of themes and formulas in Beaton 1980: 35-73.

[36] Amzulescu 1964/I: 21.

[37] See Femia 1981: 49. Anyway, the elites of the era had almost no interest in the criminality of the lower classes, therefore no intention to denigrate such popular characters; for this see Godfrey, Williams, Lawrence 2008: 81.

[38] Hobsbawm 2001: 20-21.

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This brings us to what I see as the major error in Romanian folkloristics and historiography, more precisely the idea that balladry voices the attitudes, concerns and feelings of the *whole* lower class (i.e. the peasantry). In fact, what western historians and folklorists contend, is that popular culture is in no way monolithic, and that one should consider the existence of "many popular cultures or many varieties of popular culture", to borrow Peter Burke's words.[39] These "varieties" appear because the peasantry is also, in no way, uniform as class. There are differences in status (landed peasants and serfs), region (from the plains, from the highlands, from the riverbanks, etc.), profession (woodcutters, miners, blacksmiths, cattle herders, shepherds, ploughmen, etc.) or religious confession. All these come with distinct lifeways that impinge on one's culture. Thus, the idea of the existence of several, more or less distinctive, folk groups[40] is more adequate when analyzing folklore. Balladry, as a specific form of popular culture, makes no exception. Barre Toelken, an expert on the matter, notes that what actually qualifies a song to become a ballad is its "absorption into a group's expressive performances, by shaping of presentation and meaning brought about by the group's values".[41] The only exception that I know of in Romanian scholarship, that shares the same views, is sociologist Henri H. Stahl. "Any folkloric typical example, of whatever nature, – Stahl remarks – is only representative for the social group where it is regularly employed, and not for the whole ethnic community. Moreover, even within a limited social group, enjoying not only the general folklore, common to the entire group, but also the special folklore of the subgroup, one should ask himself of the degree of representativity of folklore, which, remaining the same within the group, is used in various ways by its members".[42]

What I am hinting at, hopefully clearly by now, is that we should look at bandit balladry as a form of folklore obviously enjoyed by a certain audience and performed in a specific context and not as Marxist scholarship maintains, as the expression of popular protest (be it well-articulated or not) of the *entire* peasant class. Briefly stated, we should see this form of popular culture in subcultural terms, as the cited theorists advocated in their studies.[43] The easy assumption, following their observations, would be that such folksongs are only enjoyed by the bandits themselves. However, the issue of the audience of bandit balladry is more complex, and will be dealt with later. At the same time, we also might not know whether certain details in these ballads are "the fruit of the fertile imagination of the criminal, or of the man who wrote about him" as Peter Burke puts it (although he actually refers to early modern crime-fiction writers); "but if specific details

[39] Burke 1978: 29.

[40] Peter Burke states that shepherds, for instance, do have a very distinct culture among the peasantry (idem: 32-33).

[41] Toelken 1986: 148.

[42] Stahl 1983: 235.

[43] Although only Peter Burke actually uses the term 'sub-culture', the concept is clearly implied in the other studies cited here.

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can be doubted – Burke continues – the existence of the criminal sub-culture can not."[44]

A *HAIDUK* SUBCULTURE?

Peter Burke's subcultural views on popular culture are sociologically influenced, as his references attest. This sort of approach is quite absent from bandit studies altogether. Hobsbawm, relying heavily on his Marxist framework, draws most of his concepts from there. But, by refusing to see banditry as crime, the vast sociological explanations are outside his interest. As for Anton Blok and the revisionists, they also eschew sociological approaches, in their case, mostly out of shortsightedness (although they do not refrain from seeing bandits as self-interested, common robbers). Therefore, Paul Sant Cassia rightfully calls them "hard-nosed empiricists."[45] I think that sociology could give us a better understanding of the meaning of banditry in general, but as far as the scope of this study goes, it will suffice to prove its usefulness in explaining what social functions popular culture has, namely Romanian *haiduk* balladry, in traditional peasant society.

As I mentioned in the beginning of this paper, there is a considerable range of subcultural theories in contemporary criminology, all stressing that, by organizing themselves in groups, delinquents usually develop distinct lifeways which encourage and justify their behavior, more exactly, they form delinquent subcultures. In discussing the validity of these theories, sociologists usually place emphasis on the causes that drive an individual to deviate, and to form or join criminal gangs. This is less important here (but no less important in the general discussion about banditry!), since my aim is limited to showing that *haiduks*, independently of the real reasons behind their actions, elaborate their own, distinctive lifeways that are motivated in the very ballads that sing their exploits or those of their peers. In other words, they form subcultures. It is actually this assumption made by subcultural theorists, rather than those regarding the causes of delinquency, that receives strong empirical support in the documentation of today's criminal gangs.[46]

So, what evidence is there in favor of the existence of a *haiduk* subculture? And what better way to prove this, than by providing examples of conflicting subcultures? This is by no means hard and has been attempted by one of the leading Romanian folklorists of the early 20th century, Ovid Densuşianu,[47] although the concept of 'subculture' was unknown to him at the time. Concentrating on shepherd folklore, Densuşianu came across the relationship between shepherds and

[44] Burke 1978: 47.

[45] Sant Cassia 2000: 65.

[46] The evidence supporting or infirming the existing subcultural theories is amassed in Shoemaker 2010: 141-179.

[47] Densuşianu 1923: 9-36.

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haiduks, as it was reflected in Romanian balladry. After noticing the similarities between the lifestyles of the two (which also include shepherds turning to petty thefts, every once in a while), the noted folklorist devotes his attention to the conflict that often sparks, between shepherd and *haiduk*, in many of the ballads that have them as protagonists. Usually, this translates into the bandit trying to rob the shepherd of his sheep. The robbery is invariably performed, but what follows next is more interesting. Most of the time, the *haiduk* prides himself with stealing the lambs, as we have seen in Iancu Jianu's case, and he is put in a good light by the performer. But there are occasions, like in Costea's ballad, when the bandit is severely punished by the shepherd and his dogs. In other folksongs, though the *haiduks* do not get their deserved punishment, the tone is that of compassion for the despoiled shepherds. But when revenge is served to the bandits, the shepherd is clear in defending his lifeways in contrast to those of the *haiduk*: "You stole from me like haiduk/I'll strike you like a shepherd (Tu mi-ai furat haiduceşte,/O să-ţi car eu ciobăneşte.)".[48] In fact the distinctive identities of the two conflicting characters are clearly stated previously in the same ballad, before the robbery occurs, when the two are on good terms and try to convince the other to join their respective trades:

"Lasă-te de haiducie,	Leave your haiduk ways
Vin' cu mine-n ciobănie,	Join me in my trade
Căci mai bine-o să ne vie!	It's going to be great!
...	...
Lasă-te de ciobănie,	Leave your shepherd ways
Vin' cu mine-n haiducie,	Join me in my trade
Că mai bine-o să ne vie!"	It's going to be great![49]

Densuşianu, noticing these different perspectives on both the shepherds and the *haiduks*, makes an insightful remark, considering the time when he was writing this: "With all the identity of the motif rendered in one way or another, these ballads are different in the sense that some show pastoral provenance, while for the others it is clear that they took shape in the world of the *haiduks*." While in some cases, "of the shepherds, one hears good things and they are portrayed as being oppressed by the *haiduks*", in other instances "the tone changes in the *haiduks'* favor: what they achieve in the detriment of the shepherds is described so that their superiority results, and in the entire narrative one sees the self-confidence, the pride of the *haiduks* that nobody is able to oppose them."[50] A subcultural explanation *avant la lettre*, that puts things into perspective in a way that traditional Marxist interpretations of bandit folklore as class struggle, were unable to.

[48] Tocilescu, Ţapu 1980: 282 (my translation).
[49] Idem: 280 (my translation).
[50] Densuşianu 1923: 32.

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The same proud display of the *haiduk*'s status in contrast to that of other social categories is stated in the ballad of "Miu Cobiul", where the protagonist is challenged by a rival *haiduk,* named Ianoş the Hungarian. After the two engage in physical confrontation, with the final victory of Miu, the victorious *haiduk* tests the qualities of Ianoş's gang to see if any of the members are worthy of joining his. He challenges them to lift his saddle off the ground and put it on his horse, but all forty-five *haiduks* are unable to even budge it, with a single exception. To all the others, Miu prophesies a more mundane fate than that of the *haiduk*, of which they are obviously unworthy:

"Voi, neputincioşi	You are weak
Şi nepricopsiţi,	And you are hopeless,
Codrul părăsiţi,	At once, you shall leave the forest,
Vii ca să pliviţi,	Grapevines you shall weed,
Porumb să prăşiţi,	Corn you shall grow,
Fân ca să cosiţi,	Hay you shall mow,
Iarna să-mi tuşiţi,	And in wintertime you'll cough!
Vara să-mi lihniţi!"	Come summer you will starve![51]

These sorts of considerations regarding other social groups are not singular in Romanian folk balladry. In a variant published by Al. Amzulescu, the same *haiduk* disbands Ianoş's gang with these disdainful words: "Forget your *haiduk* ways/And take a ploughman's place (Lăsaţi tâlhăria,/Luaţi plugăria)".[52] Sometimes, the entire folksong unfolds as a commentary on the superiority of the bandit lifestyle as opposed to that of the peasantry, as one ballad aptly titled "The haiduk" (*Haiducul*) testifies. Sung from a first-person perspective, the ballad tells the story of a young man who is pushed into a peasant existence by his father, but who would rather take his rifle and go in the greenwood instead:

"Nu mă mai mâna la luncă,	Don't send me on the meadows,
Că eu nu sunt bun de muncă,	'Cause I'm not a working fellow,
Ce sunt bun de codru verde,	But I'm good for the greenwood,
Că ce ai nu se mai pierde	'Cause what you have you never loose
Şi ce iei nimeni nu vede!"	And what you take nobody sees![53]

Bandit subcultures even allow specialization. There is a considerable number of ballads that deal with horse thefts only. The characters in these folksongs pridefully display their skills in stealing horses and deceiving the horse dealers

[51] Teodorescu 1982: 555 (my translation).
[52] Amzulescu 1981: 506 (my translation).
[53] Teodorescu 1982: 338-339 (my translation).

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(*mocani*) they prey upon. They consider their theft as business, showing a great degree of expertise in horse matters,[54] while their victims are frequently regarded with contempt. In one such folksong, Codrean the horse-thief, not only does he steal a horse from under the eyes of one horse dealer, but seeing that the dealer miserably complains on the spot, he turns back and threatens him with a good beating if he continues sobbing. Then he goes about his business and applies the same treatment of robbing and threatening to one shepherd he meets on his way. But despite his reprehensible actions, Codrean is portrayed favorably in his ballad, while the poor horse dealer is qualified as stupid: "The horse dealer just like his sort,/Weak of mind and weak of heart,/He gave his horse to Codrean (Iar mocanu ca mocanu,/Prost de minte, slab de fire,/Lu Codrean pe roibu da.)"[55] Just like in the songs of the shepherds robbed by the *haiduks*, in these so-called "horse thief ballads" one can hardly dismiss the existence of a bandit subculture at odds with another subgroup, in this case, that of the horse dealers (*mocani*).[56]

Moreover, such subcultures clash not only when they are of different types, like in the folksongs of the shepherd-bandit conflict. Form what we can discern in Miu's ballad, *haiduk* gangs are sometimes portrayed as being in rivalry and not in collaboration as some historians might contend. And it is by no means an exception. "Baba Sîrba" presents the conflict between two outlaw gangs. One of them, led by captain Surdan, robs the hidden treasure in Sîrba's house, whose boys are actually *haiduks*. When they come home encumbered by loot and find their tortured mother crying, they go in Surdan's pursuit, but fail to recuperate their treasure or take revenge.[57] This is a bleak and violent ballad, where Sîrba's sons, though portrayed more favorably than the men of their rival gang, die at the end shot down by captain Surdan, without even being able to give him a good blow. It is obvious that such folksongs never voiced the needs of the less fortunate for social justice. Subcultural explanations are definitely more appropriate, should we consider the ballad as a depiction of gang warfare and nothing more. Similarly, in Ghiţă Cătănuţă's ballad, the protagonist is attacked by *haiduks* while on the road with his wife. Though not a bandit, Ghiţă who goes victorious in the ensuing fight becomes a *haiduk* in the end. And, after severely punishing his treacherous wife by beheading her and putting her head at the top of a haystack (another sample of gruesome violence on the part of the bandit), he disappears into the woods, where, the ballad goes: "haiduks, if he met/To all, he'd cut their heads (Câţi haiduci că

[54] Ispas 2007: 270-272.

[55] Tocilescu, Ţapu 1980: 263-264 (my translation).

[56] The term 'mocan' has numerous meanings in Romanian that range from shepherd to a person of Transylvanian origin, but in the "horse thief ballads" the word always signals a horse dealer. More details on the notion and the subculture of the horse dealers in Vlăduţiu 1964. Just as was the case with the shepherds that retaliate against the bandits that robbed them, some ballads do portray the horse thieves as getting their deserved punishment, see Ispas 2007: 271.

[57] Amzulescu 1981: 518-521.

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întâlnea,/Pe sub paloş că-i trecea)".[58] This folksong is also difficult to explain with what instruments Marxist theories offer. Besides the fact that he punishes treason, certainly a virtue by traditional standards, Ghiţă shows none of the marks of the 'honorable bandit': he is not abused and exploited by his master, he does not rob the rich, he does not share the loot with the poor and he does not fight the posse sent after him by the authorities. He is, simply put, a *haiduk* on a crusade against *haiduks*! And he is favorably depicted doing so.

Clashes between bandits, or between well differentiated subgroups, are not the only elements that point to the existence of a *haiduk* subculture. Its elements are also inner referenced. The most visible of these features is the organizational aspect of the *haiduk* gang with its leader (*arâmbaşă*) and the rest of the members (typically called *voinici* or *haiduks*). It is a hierarchical structure with a distinct set of values, of which 'worthiness' (*vrednicie*) is the most prominent, as we have seen from Miu's challenge. The same *haiduks* possess and know how to identify and use the magical herbs that open all locks and break all chains (*iarba fiarelor*).[59] They also know how to make themselves invulnerable to the bullets of their pursuers, a well-priced secret that, once out, often brings the outlaw's death.[60] But there's also a bandit universe, "a world of the *haiduks*" in Densuşianu's words, quite distinct in its imagery.[61] The greenwood, a typical element of bandit literature all over the world, is priced for its leafage that conceals the outlaws from the sight of the authorities. This also particularizes their activity as seasonal, since on Holy Cross Day (September, 14) the *haiduks* leave the forest that does not offer cover anymore, to settle in the houses of their hosts:

"Ziua Crucii nu-i departe,	The Day of the Rood is near,
Frunza de pe ramuri cade,	The leaves of the trees are sere,
Codru prinde a se rări,	Look, the wood is almost bare,
Ş-aşa, voi nu-ţi mai trăi,	Life will be too hard to bear,
Că vor prinde, v-or robi.	You'll get caught and thralled, beware!
Voi cu prânzul să sfârşiţi,	That is why end up your feast,
Vinul tot să-l gustăriţi.	Drink the wine-pots to the lees,
Mergeţi toţi pe la părinţi."	Join your parents west or east.[62]

There are plenty more features that individualize the *haiduk* lifestyle in the balladry dedicated to them, from owing a good horse, that many times proves to be

[58] Teodorescu 1982: 683 (my translation).

[59] Candrea 2001: 11-23.

[60] As in Pintea's ballad, for instance, see Leviţchi, Bantaş, Duţescu, Margul-Spelber, Snodgrass 1980: 316-349 (translated by Leon D. Leviţchi).

[61] On this, more extensively in Mazilu 2006: 323-334.

[62] Leviţchi, Bantaş, Duţescu, Margul-Spelber, Snodgrass 1980: 322-325 (translated by Leon D. Leviţchi).

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a lifesaver,[63] to the already mentioned feasts in the woods or banquets in inns and taverns, but there isn't enough space here to detail them. What should be more revealing is how the bandit sees his own trade, how he justifies his decision to go robbing people, since this justification is central to subcultural explanations of delinquency. Though most of the time they put the blame on exploitation and high taxation, *haiduks* also find other explanations for their behavior. One of these involves prejudice against the average individual:

"Toţi mă fac de sunt haiduc,	A haiduk they all say I am,
De n-am loc nici pe pământ	There's no place for me in this land,
Nu ştiu zău und' să mă duc	I don't know where else to go,
...	...
De ciudă şi de mânie	Out of anger and of fury
Oi să plec în haiducie."	I'll resort to banditry.[64]

Others stress fate as the cause: "Ever since I was a toddler/I bore the marks of the *haiduk* (Căci de când eram eu mic/Aveam semne de haiduc)",[65] while others still, put the blame on bad upbringing. This is the case with Niculiţă who, his ballad goes, is sought by his mother who tries to convince him to leave his *haiduk* ways and return home, to his estate (!). He reproaches her that, when he was a child, she looked away when he was stealing or even that she gave him a thievish education:

"Când eram de-un, ori doi,	When I was two years old,
Furam cai, şi furam boi	I stole horses, I stole oxen,
Tu-i lăsai în grajd la noi.	You'd receive them in our stable.
Când eram de zece a'i	And when I reached the age of ten,
Mă-nvăţai a fura cai"	To steal steeds, you taught me then.[66]

As one can see from all these different examples, in traditional Romanian society there is no single discourse regarding banditry, as the scholarship tried to infer up until now, but multiple discourses. Refuge in the greenwood is not to be taken only by those abused and exploited, but also by those who are marginalized in their communities, those who were destined to this sort of life, or those who were brought up by *haiduk* norms, rather than by the general norms of the village.

The way these projections on the nature of banditry take shape is linked to the subculture that formulates them. If for the robbed shepherds, the theft performed by

[63] See about the *haiduk*'s horse at Vrabie 1966: 404-407; Ispas 2007: 265-272.

[64] Quoted in Popescu 1988: 112 (my translation).

[65] Quoted in idem: 113 (my translation).

[66] Amzulescu 1981: 617 (my translation). This is in agreement with what certain sociologists found in studying crime in the neighborhoods of 20th century United States, more precisely with the permissive social structure of the community, which often turns a blind eye to criminal activity; see Bordua 1961: 122-123.

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the *haiduks* is unjust, for the outlaws themselves the same act might be justified in the different ways I have exemplified above. Among these, one also has to consider those that folklorists and historians dwell upon. No matter how far one goes from the model proposed by them, it is still very hard to dodge the numerous instances of abuse and exploitation existent in folklore. Things cannot be otherwise in a society where inequality and injustice reign. Therefore, many *haiduks* start out as simple peasants, only to become overwhelmed by needs or victims of exploitation as their folksongs progress. This is the case with Ion ăl Mare, a simple peasant who is pushed into killing an abusive lease-holder by the deliberate unfair calculations that this individual made for the tithe owed to him by Ion.[67] But not all abused and humiliated peasants resort to violence to find justice. Some, as a ballad entitled "The Peasant and the Tax-collector" (*Ţăranul şi zapciul*) attests, seek it in front of the ruler of the country, the voivode. But, as he is not prepared to bribe the Greek doorkeeper, the peasant does not even manage to go past the gate of the princely palace. The folksong ends with the disappointed peasant going back home, but it could have ended perfectly well with the peasant becoming a *haiduk*,[68] exacting revenge on the wrongful tax-collector, who actually puts him through all this from the very beginning. Ultimately, it would have been justified if he acted like this in the given conditions. Robbing those nearer to his social status becomes justifiable in the same way, when legitimate avenues to satisfy one's aspirations are blocked. This is the case with Iancu Jianu, for instance, who, although robs people indiscriminately, takes to the greenwood (in some variants) because of the nobleman who refuses to share his plough with him, leaving him and his family to starve.[69]

This is also the case with today's delinquents. Although, in choosing the victim there are always certain selection criteria of the moral sort (not from among friends, for example), when one is picked and the perpetrator caught, he will frequently resort to what Gresham Sykes and David Matza call *techniques of neutralization*.[70] These are nothing but justifications employed by the criminal to exempt himself from self-blame and the blame of others. Thus, the robber might deny responsibility for one's actions (for example, the *haiduk* Niculiţă might put the blame on his bad upbringing), he might argue that his deed, although illegal, is not immoral, that the victim is, in fact, one who deserves to be robbed (the abusive nobleman or even other disdained social categories), or he might simply turn to higher moral convictions (the *haiduk* takes from the rich to give to the poor). The folklore around the bandit, sociologist Paul Kooistra believes, is nothing but the embodiment of these techniques of neutralization in the form of legends and ballads that glorify his deeds.[71]

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[67] Amzulescu 1963: 11-59.

[68] Tocilescu-Ţapu 1980: p. 238. In fact, the ballad is included among *haiduk* folksongs in the catalog established by Al. I. Amzulescu, see Amzulescu 1981: 125.

[69] Tocilescu, Ţapu 1980: 239.

[70] Sykes, Matza 1957.

[71] Kooistra 1989: 36.

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Such justifications may appear at a group level, as Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin point out, and when many individuals find justifications for their unlawful behavior a subculture takes shape. "The emerging deviant subculture – note the two sociologists – acquires a set of beliefs and values which rationalize the shift in norms as natural response to a trying situation. These beliefs are in the form of descriptions and evaluations of the social world of the delinquent which contradict those held by conforming persons."[72] This does not mean that these outlaws are completely severed from the prevailing social norms. They are not much different from those who respect the law in what concerns their aspirations, but find different ways (that is, illegal) to satisfy them. This is where Peter Burke's explanation of subculture comes in handy, because it shows that bandits, though distinct in their manifestations, are not that far outside peasant society and its problems. Burke argues that: "«sub-culture» may be a more useful term than «culture», because it suggests that songs, rituals and beliefs were partly autonomous rather than wholly autonomous, distinct yet not completely severed from the rest of popular culture. The sub-culture is a system of shared meanings, but the people who participate in it also share the meanings of the culture at large."[73] This remark is especially important here. The *haiduks*, not being essentially different from the rest of the society in what concerns their needs and aspirations, but only in the ways they address them, often receive the support of the population. Empirically confirmed, this support has its echo in the immense popularity that their balladry enjoys among the lower classes.[74] A numerous audience for these folksongs certainly exists, but, in order for them reach the ears of the peasantry, these ballads need a vehicle, since we cannot imagine the *haiduks* themselves singing their own exploits among their various activities.[75]

A VEHICLE AND AN AUDIENCE FOR *HAIDUK* BALLADRY

This vehicle was none other than the ballad performer, commonly called *lăutar* in Romanian. The individuals of this trade were usually gypsies, professionals rather than persons with musical abilities employed on occasion.[76] The repertoire of such a performer numbered between 30 and 40 ballads[77] while the performance took place in front of the most diverse audiences. One day, they could be entertaining noblemen in their mansions, the other, they could be amusing

[72] Cloward, Ohlin 1960: 132.

[73] Burke 1978: 42.

[74] Of the entire number of the ballads collected in Romania, almost 30% are *haiduk* ballads according to Fochi 1985: 68-69.

[75] Although Miu's song ends with the *haiduk* resuming his travels through the woods, in the sound of his own flute (Tocilescu, Ţapu 1980: 201).

[76] Their professional status was regulated, the performers having their own guild, just like other craftsmen; see Bobulescu 1922: 141-152.

[77] As was evidenced in the investigations made in the 1950's when folklorists become interested in the performers themselves and not only in their songs; see Amzulescu 1964/I: 25.

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crowds in the local fairs organized in many of the villages of 19th century Romania. Like their audiences, their repertoire not only had to be rich, but also diverse, in order to satisfy the various tastes of those employing these performers. And, most importantly, the repertoire had to be carefully selected when reproduced, so as not to offend the audience. Therefore, one can doubt that ballads such as "The Rich Man and the Poor Man" (*Bogatul şi săracul)* were ever sung in the houses of the gentry, the noblemen probably making requests for songs more appropriate to their social status and that of their guests. The cultural background of the audience (i.e. the subculture) was consequently very important in establishing the 'playlist'.[78] And if the upper class had its own preferred repertoire, that usually excluded *haiduk* balladry (or at least those that antagonize the bandit and the nobleman),[79] then it means that the same sort of balladry had its dedicated audience, since one finds so many of these folksongs in folklore collections. Again, the easy assumption would be that only the *haiduks* themselves could have constituted an audience for such ballads since other categories had their own folklore, or were treated with a certain amount of contempt in the very same ballads. Certainly, the *haiduks* themselves were part of the audience. Iancu Jianu, for instance, is historically recorded as attending to the performance his own folksong by a *lăutar*, on two separate occasions.[80]

However, it would be absurd to believe that only the bandits themselves could have enjoyed the folklore dedicated to them. In fact, this is not how subcultures work. As Peter Burke clearly emphasized in the quote above, a subculture is not completely severed from society, maintaining certain connections with the culture at large. In the case of delinquent subcultures, these ties are markedly important for their own survival. Without the collaboration between "the carriers of criminal values" and "the carriers of conventional values", sociologists assert today, "stable criminal roles cannot develop." If the delinquent does not form relationships with the conforming persons in his social environment, "the possibility of a stable, protected criminal style of life is effectively precluded." This is why it is probably more appropriate to say that crime flourishes in *integrated* communities rather than in those of the disorganized type.[81] Things must have been

[78] Idem, p. 47; Caracostea, Bîrlea 1971: 259-260.

[79] I say 'usually', because it is not improbable for some noblemen to support or even be part of a delinquent subculture. In fact, quite a few cases of *haiduks* supported by noblemen and even noblemen turning to banditry are attested. However, this is not the case all the time, such situations being otherwise uncommon, not because the upper classes were in a better relationship with the law, but because they had their own forms of delinquency, see Mazilu 2006.

[80] Isvoranu 1883: 411; Papazoglu 2000: 103. Both accounts, however, are from a time when the *haiduk* was retired from his criminal career, although the earliest one is actually from just a few years after his robberies stopped.

[81] This description actually fits just one of the three models of delinquent subcultures that Cloward and Ohlin have identified in society, namely what they call *the criminal subculture* (Cloward, Ohlin 1960: 161-171). The other forms (*the conflict subculture* and *the retreatist subculture*) are not so stable and do not concern the topic of this article, only to the extent that these subcultures are not always pure, but frequently borrow traits from one another.

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the same with the rural communities that frequently sprung out *haiduks* in the past centuries. This is probably how we must interpret the numerous remarks in the documents of the era where various robbed individuals appear before the judge and qualify entire villages as bandit villages.[82] And it is probably in the very same villages that the positive image of the bandit was concocted.[83]

Therefore, one must imagine that the audience for *haiduk* balladry included, besides the *hjaduks* themselves, their numerous hosts and fences referenced in the official documents, but also a good share of the law-abiding inhabitants of such villages with whom the bandits maintained all sorts of relationships. These individuals most likely heard *haiduk* songs in taverns and inns, where the documents of the time ordinarily place both bandits and ballad performers.[84] It is also here that many of these ballads probably took shape, at the encounter between a generous *haiduk* and an able and slightly flattering *lăutar*, or at the initiative of some of his hosts, or, why not, of some sincere admirers of the outlaw that must have existed back then just as they exist nowadays among the conforming members of the neighborhoods where criminality flourishes unbridled.[85] In fact, we know the circumstances of the appearance of one such folksong from Dimitrie Papazoglu's account of his encounter with the now-retired *haiduk* Iancu Jianu, at a formal dinner. There, the former outlaw himself explained how his ballad was concocted by one of his admirers: "[Back then], I owned a vintager gypsy who knew how to play the violin; I appreciated him and he appreciated me, and when he heard that Caragea (i.e. the ruler) apprehended me, the goddamn crow set about to fabricate songs about me together with other performers (*lăutari*). I gave him a good beating when I returned home, seeing that he made a fool of me in all the taverns!"[86] Independently of the outlaw's reaction who,

[82] Livadă-Cadeschi, Vlad 2002: 60. Some communities come to be officially named after what the authorities or other neighboring communities believed to be the main feature of their inhabitants. Two Moldavian villages are thus called Tâlhăreşti (one apt translation of this should be Banditville), see Giurescu 1957: 134.

[83] The situation seems to be similar to that of the Greek *kleft* songs that seem to have been enjoyed only in the mountainous villages wherefrom these individuals originated. The songs of the towns where actually held in contempt by the population of these villages, as one 19th century observer notes, see Beaton 1985: 104.

[84] For *haiduks* in taverns and inns, see Săvoiu 2010: 67-69. For ballad performers in taverns, see Bobulescu 1922: 128, 129-130. The performance of *haiduk* ballads is not to be limited only to inns and taverns. Being requested by the audience, these folksongs could be interpreted on other occasions as well, in fairs (another spatial coordinate associated with banditry) or, why not, at the weddings or other community events where the *haiduk* was invited just as the contemporary interlope is invited today.

[85] One encounters admiration for criminals today as well, especially among the teenagers from crime ridden neighborhoods, where the gang leader often constitutes the only successful role-model in the community, see Cloward, Ohlin 1960: 162-163. Frequently, this admiration for the gangster lifestyle is expressed in songs and ballads, even in today's industrial societies, see Thrasher 1960: 269-275. Although highly commercialized by important record companies (thus, not exactly a 'folk genre'), today's *gangsta rap* portrays the same glorification of criminal life one encounters in folklore, in a very similar subcultural milieu, see Hagedorn 2008: 85-111.

[86] Papazoglu 2000: 103.

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we might add, did not show any discomfort during the performance that followed at the said dinner (on the contrary, he generously remunerated the *lăutar*),[87] his story evidences that *haiduk* ballads take shape in the bandit's own social environment, and not entirely in the mind of the ballad performer in the form of "a construct, stereotype, or figment of human imagination", as Anton Blok asserts.[88] Likewise, his social enemies, the victims of his robberies, like the distressed shepherds, horse dealers and bakers who petition the ruler against him in one version, might 'commission' a different rendition of his story from the very same balladeers, more in accordance with their experience with the bandit.

But we shouldn't limit the interpretation of such balladry to this. As Henri Stahl pointed out, "any folkloric typical example [...] is only representative for the social group where it is regularly employed", but at the same time he admits that even within the subgroup "one should ask himself of the degree of representativity of folklore, which, remaining the same within the group, is used in various ways by its members." This leads Stahl to conclude that folklore is like "public opinion", namely that there is no uniform, unique reading of it, not even inside the group wherefrom it emerges.[89] Therefore, for the *haiduks* themselves and for their hosts and fences these ballads might have acted as justifications/glorifications of their behavior, while audiences outside the bandit subcultures might have appreciated such folksongs because they depicted the abusive authorities and exploiting noblemen being punished. In any case, the audiences' reading of it is certainly filtered through whatever group values they share. Hence, we should not be surprised if, on many occasions, the bandit is portrayed unfavorably since he might have disrespected such a group's values and beliefs. This, of course, is the case with performances that were addressed to different audiences than those associated with banditry. After all, it's the audience that pays for the performance; the performers only comply with its tastes.[90]

CONCLUSIONS

It is not hard to see, in the light of what has been discussed here, why both the supporters and the revisionists of the *social bandit* theory were mistaken when

[87] What he is bothered about is not the song itself but actually some details that make him look ridiculous. Jianu also did not seem bothered by his folksong in the other account that pictures him as enjoying its performance. In fact, he requests it himself, see Isvoranu 1883: 411.

[88] Blok 1972: 500.

[89] Stahl 1983: 235-236.

[90] Alexandru Amzulescu notes that folksong performances were usually very interactive. The ballad is almost always requested from someone in the audience, there is intense emotional participation involved, with people cheering, laughing or being moved by the different episodes related by the performer. The listeners know the repertoire and demand good renditions of it, intervening when the performer shortens the ballad. "Sometimes, the listeners react lively, proving a strong interest in precisely the passages that relate to their situation and their own concerns, with their *way of life*" (my emphasis), Amzulescu 1964/I: 75-77.

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they addressed the problem of bandit folklore. The folklore they usually refer to is not the one I review here, but the toned down version of it, altered, selected and consequently endorsed by the Romantic elites. This makes a group of scholars investigating the literary cultures of East-Central Europe to conclude that "folklore endowed the outlaws with contradictory traits, but folklorists and post-nineteenth century writers downplayed the robber in the haiduc and turned him into a national hero, as if folk poetry had already presented him this way; it was literature that rewrote the haiduc."[91] But even when such realities are known by certain scholars, their studies nevertheless fail to account for the popularity such figures enjoy among the peasantry. British scholar Barbara Hanawalt, in her study of bandit ballads of the fourteenth-century, gives a set of answers that stresses the "deep roots" that these ballads have in our culture, the fact that Robin Hood characters attack authorities that are "perennially disliked and feared" by the general population, that these bandits represent "freedom writ large" or even that the feasts that the outlaws usually enjoy have a distinctive appeal to preindustrial societies where such an abundance was actually the stuff of fantasy.[92] In a recent scholarly article, Romanian historian Mihaela Grancea formulates her own explanation in only a few words, stating that the admiration that the *haiduks* benefit from in their folksongs is accounted by the fact that they "infringe upon the stability of the rich, upon the foundations of an oppressive society, seen as a creation of the wealthy."[93] Other studies world-wide give prominence to the same cultural or psychological explanations, but, as Paul Kooistra points out, this sort of interpretations, irrespective of their claims, can, at most, tell us *how* such criminals come to be admired but not *why*. And although Kooistra resorts to sociological explanations to answer this question, he dismisses the idea of bandits forming subcultures.[94] This is precisely because he relies heavily on the discourse produced by the elites, who manipulated the popular culture around the bandit for political gains, and not on the sometimes contradictory folklore that paints quite a different picture of banditry. What this folklore actually shows, as I have tried to prove here, is that the outlaw is not necessarily always admired in society, but when he is, this admiration is offered independently of the social status of the victim or the purpose of his actions (noble or otherwise). This is because bandits, just like delinquent gangs today, rather form subcultures than class struggle guerrillas, subcultures that justify and celebrate robbery, whether directed against the rich and powerful or the weak and powerless. And it is this justification and celebration that is central to the success and survival

[91] Leerssen, Neubauer, Cornis-Pope, Kliac, Marcoviç 2004: 419.

[92] Hanawalt 1992: 168-171.

[93] Grancea 2009: 148.

[94] Kooistra 1989: 21-28; on the dismissal of delinquent subcultures Kooistra notes that "the Robin Hood criminal is not a member of a deviant subculture. He is seen as an individual who generally respects the basic moral precepts of society. In fact, his perceived commitment to ideals makes him appear to be a conservative political figure" (idem: 154).

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of these *haiduk* bands. One can, of course, speak of solidarity among these bandits and their supporters, but it is certainly not class solidarity. It is a solidarity of a different sort, one that I hopefully clearly described here.[95]

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AN AMERICAN-ROMANIAN FRIENDSHIP IN PAREMIOLOGY

WOLFGANG MIEDER

Colleagues, Students, and Friends[1]

Ever since I received the unexpected and overwhelming news that the prestigious University of Bucharest in Romania decided to award a "doctor honoris causa" to me, I have been wondering how I could possibly find the appropriate words to express my sincere appreciation and indescribable joy about this unique honor and recognition of my life's work in paremiology or proverb studies. And let me state right at the outset of my heartfelt remarks that I could never have achieved any distinction as a scholar and as a professor were it not for the much appreciated support and love of my dear wife with whom I have shared my life for over forty-five years. But there are also many cultural and literary historians, folklorists, linguists, and philologists throughout the world who have worked at my side, and this is especially true for the international community of paremiologists who have entrusted me for more than three decades with the editorship of *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship*. It has been such a privilege to serve scholars and students from many lands, and by recognizing me today with an honorary doctorate the University of Bucharest is in fact also acknowledging their untiring work on proverbial wisdom that proves once and for all that while there are naturally differences among languages and cultures, there are many similarities that tie us humans together in a remarkable network of mutuality. As I always tell my dear students of a large lecture course on proverbs that I teach every second semester, let us stress what connects us and let us strive to make the world a better place, basing our ethical and ecological decision in our global environment on the most basic human principle that is part of every major religion of the world, namely the proverbial *golden rule*: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you".

[1] (Editorial Note) This is a *Thank-you Address at the Universitatea din Bucureşti* (subtitle by W. Mieder himself), delivered on November 26, 2015, on the occasion of the author's formal acceptance of the Doctor Honoris Causa title bestowed upon him by the University of Bucharest, Romania.

REF/JEF, 1–2, p. 165–182, Bucureşti, 2016

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As you can imagine, my colleagues and students at the University of Vermont have asked me to express their greetings to you today, hoping that my short visit here will mark the expansion of the relationship with the University of Bucharest. As some of you might know, my colleague Prof. Steven Cutler has come to your university twice as a Fulbright scholar, and last year my dear friends Prof. Daniela Ionescu and Prof. Anamaria Szabo from your university were Fulbright scholars at my university. Having Prof. Ionescu work in my International Proverb Archives for the entire spring semester of 2015 was one of the highlights of my professional life. It was such a rewarding experience to see her every day working so hard that she was able to finish a complete book manuscript on a comparison of English and Romanian proverbs and idioms about food. I hope that we can broaden this Fulbright connection that will also include students. In our interconnected world it is ever more important that such exchanges take place, and let me assure you that the University of Vermont will welcome any Romanian scholar or student with open arms.

Let me add one more comment at this point that relates to the students who have taken the time today to attend this ceremony. I had the opportunity to meet some of them yesterday when I had the welcome opportunity to present two lectures in the Departments of German and English respectively. You are so wonderfully young, and if you are anything like my Vermont students, I am sure that there are times when you are not particularly excited about your studies. That is perfectly normal, but the advice I give my students and now you is that you try to be enthusiastic and excited about your studies, realizing what a privilege it is to be a university student. To put it as plainly as possible, make yourself fall in love with your subject matter. If you do that, you will turn your studies from a chore into a pleasure, and before you know it, you will excel and make your mark in your society and beyond. Something like this happened to me. I was a mediocre student in my native Germany, but when I came to America in 1960 at the age of sixteen, I woke up and discovered intellectual pursuits. And once I was introduced to proverbs in a course on German folklore, the intriguing study of these bits of folk wisdom became an avocation with some of my friends calling it with a bit of friendly irony an obsession. Some of them have also used the word "workaholic" to which I usually respond with a smile on my face that at least I am a happy one. Lately a dear paremiological friend has started to begin our extensive correspondence with "Dear Sisyphus". I kind of like this, since it expresses my never-ending work as the servant of international paremiology. It also reminds me of the time in the 1960s when I was a student at the Université de Caen in France. At that time I devoured the works of the French existentialist Albert Camus, and a sentence in his famous treatise *Le Mythe de Sisyphe* (1942) became a personal leitmotif for me. I will quote it in French since as Romanians you will have no difficulty understanding it: "La lutte elle-même vers les sommets suffit à remplir un coeur d'homme. Il faut imaginer Sisyphe heureux". In other words, the struggle

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of rolling that stone – whatever it might be – up the hill brings with it the sensation of happy fulfilment. That's not a bad way to approach your studies and, later in life, your work.

But speaking of the interconnection of work and happiness, I also would like to stress that for a scholar this positive sensation is greatly enhanced by way of collegial and amicable correspondence across miles of lands and oceans. The scholarly life can at times be a bit lonely burning the midnight oil on the manuscript of a lecture, an article or a book. But then, the next morning at the office, there might be an air-mail letter with beautiful Romanian stamps on it arriving at the office. And what a joy to take a letter opener and slowly liberating its treasured hand-written or typed content. Being a folklorist at heart, I have a vast world-wide correspondence and have kept literally thousands of such letters, including those sent electronically by e-mail, but I must admit that while I appreciate the immediacy of this mode of communication, it is not quite the same as an old-fashioned letter. In any case, in preparation of these remarks, one of my students has helped me in looking through the amassment of letters to find those that deal with Romanian colleagues and friends. So while my wife and I have never been in Romania, I can tell you quite explicitly that my connection to your beautiful country began on November 13. 1983, when Prof. Dumitru Stanciu (April 10, 1930 – April 14, 2005) of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Bucharest contacted me for the first time:

> I have been informed of the new *Proverbium* yearbook through your own good offices and those of a group of enthusiastic collaborators. [...] I would like you to kindly take into account the fact that I want to participate with studies concerning both theoretical problems of paremiology in general and others regarding Romanian proverbs.

It took considerable time for mail to travel from Bucharest to Burlington, but on December 4, 1983, I could respond:

> It would be kind of you, if you want to write a report on recent proverb research in Romania, with complete bibliographical information. That would help all scholars in the world. Please also send me copies of articles and books that appear in Romania, if you have extra copies. We want *Proverbium* to be truly international.

In later letters, we exchanged ideas, I published articles from my friend in *Proverbium*, and we sent each other bibliographical information and actual books as well. Thus I found out about a fabulous comparative proverb collection by Gabriel Gheorghe sent to me by Prof. Stanciu on February 12, 1987:

> Gabriel Gheorghe, *Proverbele româneşti şi proverbele lumii romanice*, Bucureşti, 1986, 424 pp./ In 1986 the Romanian paremiological study has been enriched by a fundamental book concerning the Romanian proverbs from a comparative Romanic standpoint. It is the first book of the kind to be issued so far, an attempt at regarding from the Romanian angle the proverbs of the Romanic world. The author [Gabriel Gheorghe, born August 23, 1929] worked on his

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book for more than twenty years, covering an impressive bibliography of about 300 volumes and over 60 internal and external correspondents.

There is also a long letter of January 4, 1990, that is a personal testimony of how a professor experienced the liberating revolution in Bucharest:

> I hope you received my letter sent on 12 December 1989, which preceded the terrible events that occurred in my country from 17 to about 26 December (and more). [...] I am immensely pleased to write you as a free citizen now: all our letters sent abroad were read by the secret police; I am so happy to be able to write to you without hints and innuendoes. At the same time, it is really hard to bear the painful regret of so many innocent lives having been sacrificed by a brutish tyranny, alongside with important losses in cultural values. One of the most precious libraries in Romania, the Bucharest University Library, was practically burnt down by the president's terrorists, so that many books were destroyed by the fire they induced through quite vicious destructive means. That is why I kindly appeal to you to help us, if possible, somehow in making up for the losses in a library that will be essential in the education of our current and future generations of students. Practically, any book would be welcome.

My response of January 20, 1990, accompanying a box of books, shows compassion and empathy on my part, having watched the developments in Romania on the television news and read about them in the newspapers:

> Dear Romanian friend Stanciu,/ I have thought of you and all the other Romanian colleagues and friends every day, as we watched and heard about the revolutionary developments in Romania. We are all very happy for the Romanian people, and we are sad about the people who had to die in your struggle for freedom and democracy. We wish all Romanian people the very best on their path towards a democratic government and an improved economy.

But it also was my friend Dumitru Stanciu who gave me the great honor of publishing an article in a prestigious folklore journal in Romania. I remember that this meant the world to me at the time and it still does. Here is what I wrote on November 7, 1991:

> My dear friend Dumitru Stanciu,/ Today I am writing to you with greatest joy and excitement, because a few days ago I received the wonderful issue of *Revista de Etnografie şi Folclor* from you. I was so happy to see my paper on "General Thoughts on the Nature of the Proverb" [36 (1991), 151-164] in this prestigious Romanian journal. It means very much to me to have published this article in Romania, and I want to thank all of my Romanian paremiological friends for this opportunity.

Such letters also include sad personal losses and then again good news as well, as can be seen from this excerpt from my letter of January 31, 1993:

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> Dear friend Dumitru Stanciu,/ Thank you so much for your kind letter of December 21, 1992, which contained the sad news about the death of your dear wife. It was a terrible loss for you, I know that, and I hope that you can manage to carry on your life alone. It will be a long time to adjust to this loss, and I want you to know that I am thinking of you as a good friend./ Speaking of friends, Cezar Tabarcea will visit me here in Burlington all day on Tuesday this coming week. Is that not wonderful? I look forward to meeting him very much. Perhaps you can take such an American trip sometime in the future.

And imagine my excitement as a German when I received the following news in a letter from February 24, 1995:

> At the present time, I am working on a study dealing with the reflection in proverbs of the opinion that Romanians have about other peoples, and that other peoples have regarding the Romanians, in their proverbs, as well. I've already had an experience in this respect, as I wrote some time ago the article "The German in the Romanian Proverb" [*Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie*, 17 (1982), 95-103], with which, I assume, you probably are already acquainted.

And when my already mentioned colleague Prof. Steven Cutler received a Fulbright scholarship to spend time at the University of Bucharest, I wrote Dumitru Stanciu on January 22, 2004:

> By the way, one of my colleagues, Prof. Stephen Cutler from the Department of Sociology, is coming to Bucureşti [on a Fulbright stipend] to spend a semester at your university. I told him about you, and I hope that the two of you will meet.

Of course, the response on February 10, 2004, was: "I am pleased to hear that Professor Stephen Cutler, your friend, will come to Romania. I am sure I shall meet him." And so they did and became friends.

Here is one more important paragraph from a letter of March 3, 2004, since it is my reaction to an incredible scholarly present that I received from my Romanian friend. It must have been quite a financial sacrifice, and I will forever be thankful to him:

> Dear Dumitru Stanciu,/ Thank you so very much for your wonderful package! I was very happy to hear from you and to receive the books, especially the first volume of the reprint of [Iuliu A.] Zanne's famous Romanian proverb collection [*Proverbele românilor*. Bucureşti 1895-1912; rpt. 2004].I look forward to the other volumes – and I will pay you for them and the postage [I received vols. 2-5 later that year and bought vols. 6-10 after Dumitru Stanciu had passed away]. Let me know how much each volume costs, and I will find a way to send the money to you. I know how difficult things are for you, and I do want to pay for the books.

I shall also never forget the surprise and excitement of my dear friend Prof. Daniela Ionescu, when she arrived with her Fulbright scholarship in January of 2015 and discovered that all ten Zanne volumes were standing right on her desk that I had prepared for her in my International Proverb Archives. But as you would expect, there were plenty other Romanian collections awaiting her. In fact, I am the proud owner of about thirty Romanian proverb collections, some of which were carried to Vermont by Daniela Ionescu and her husband Dr. Daniel Ionescu when he came for a visit to Vermont.

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It is not possible to cite more epistolary texts from Prof. Stanciu, but since he had announced the visit of Prof. Cezar Tabarcea (born July 28, 1941) from the University of Bucharest to Vermont, I would like to add a few short segments of our correspondence here. We started corresponding in 1985, but he had already sent me an autographed copy of his seminal study *Poetica proverbului* (1982) in April 1984. On April 19, 1987, I made the following comments to him about several superb Romanian proverb scholars with whom I was and am in contact and whose publications I own and know:

> I would like to invite one of the outstanding Romanian paremiologists to write a review article on the superb work on proverbs going on in Romania right now for publication in *Proverbium*. Other paremiologists in the world must know about the accomplishments of Romanian scholars like J.C. Chiţimia, Gabriel Gheorghe, Sanda Galopenţia-Eretescu, Caius T. Jiga, Constantin Negreanu, Anca Vlăduţ Pegulescu, Pavel Ruxandoiu, Marius Sala, Dumitru Stanciu, Alexandru Stanciulescu-Bârda, Cezar Tabarcea, etc. Seldom has there been such an outstanding group of paremiologists assembled at one time in one country. Romania is without doubt one of the centers of international paremiology and *Proverbium* is ready to publish some of the major theoretical papers from Romania in English translation. Hopefully some of the book-length studies by such renowned scholars as C. Negreanu, D. Stanciu, and C. Tabarcea might also be translated (or at least part of them). The Romanian paremiological scholarship is too important not to be made available to other scholars who don't know the Romanian language well enough to appreciate these significant findings. I am certain that paremiologists from around the world will gladly join me in congratulating our Romanian paremiological friends on their fantastic accomplishments: Opus artificem probat!

But there is also this much more personal beginning of a lengthy letter of January 12, 1990, that Cezar Tabarcea wrote to me on January 12, 1990:

> You can't imagine what [it] means for us the word LIBERTY!!! [...] Now we are free, and we learn democracy. That is not easy! But we hope... We have now the right of hopefulness! [...] I hope also to meet you soon. We may now travel anywhere, but we have not money. The dictator ruined the country. Maybe I will be on a foundation. I will ask for a sponsorship.

As you can imagine, these words touched me deeply, as can be seen from my response on February 11, 1990:

> Thank you so much for your kind letter of January 12, 1990, telling me that you are now FREE! Yes, the Romanian people have fought very courageously to dispose the terrible dictator. Every night we have seen on television what was happening in Romania. I thought of you and the other Romanian friends often, and I am glad to hear that you and your son and the rest of the family are healthy and well. I showed your letter to many friends and colleagues here at the university. We all could tell by your letter how much freedom, liberty and democracy mean to you and the Romanian people. We admire all of you for your courage and struggle, and we are certain that you now have a better future in front of you. The next few years won't be easy, but you will accomplish your important goals of freedom.

And yes, Cezar Tabarcea and I met on February 2, 1993, at Burlington, Vermont, and there is even a picture of "the historical meeting between American and Romanian paremiology", as Cezar Tabarcea described it in his letter of April 26,

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1993, that in addition to the picture of the two of us also included the following statement: "I hope to be able to invite you as a Visiting Prof. [to the University of Bucharest], and to establish a permanent contact with the University of Vermont, Burlington."

Yet, as all of you know, I have never been at Bucharest until right now. Nevertheless, I feel so connected with this university, city, and country, as is expressed in many more letters with Romanian paremiologists like my long-time friends Constantin Negreanu (January 6, 1942-1991), Nicolae Constantinescu, Alexandru Stanciulescu-Bârda (born February 23, 1953), Anca Vlăduț Pegulescu, and now also Daniela Ionescu (the correspondence between Daniela and me alone comprises about one hundred fifty pages). I would love to cite pertinent passages from these letters as well, but time does not permit it. I have placed some excerpts into an addendum of the remarks I am making here today. They certainly serve as testimony of along and deep friendship between several Romanian paremiologists and me.

Some of these dear friends have passed away by now, but there are several who do continue to be active scholars and who are in fact here today. I hope you can all imagine how excited and honored I am to finally meet them here at the University of Bucharest. It has only taken three days at Bucharest for my wife and me to meet so many wonderful people in this great city, and we are well aware of the fact that we have now established even stronger ties between Bucharest and our village of Williston where we live in our country home with our two Labrador dogs. You may rest assured that Romania, Bucharest, and the University of Bucharest in particular will forever be in our minds and hearts, and we hope to return in the future for a more extended period of time. Now that I am an honorary member of this renowned university, I might even have the chance after all to give some more lectures on proverbial matters.

For now, let me close by thanking you all for the incredible honor of receiving a "doctor honoris causa" from the University of Bucharest. By honoring me, you are also acknowledging the scholarly accomplishments of all Romanian proverb scholars as well as the paremiological work that is being accomplished throughout the world. As I said at the beginning of my remarks, proverbs contain the wisdom of humankind, they are true "monumenta humana", and as such tie us together as one big family. Listening to the insights into human nature expressed in proverbs might just make our world a better place in the future.

Thank you all for your generosity and kindness. I am deeply humbled and honored by the recognition bestowed upon me by the University of Bucharest, and I assure you that my wife and I shall never forget this truly special and unique occasion in Romania.

Thank you! – *Mulțumesc!*

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ADDENDA

Here are a few more segments of letters between Constantin Negreanu, Alexandru Stanciulescu-Bârda, Daniela Ionescu, and myself.

1. Excerpts from my correspondence with Constantin Negreanu (January 6, 1942-January 27, 1991) that began in 1984.

February 24, 1984 (WM):
Thank you so very much for sending me a copy of your excellent book *Structura proverbelor româneşti* (Bucureşti 1983) which arrived here a few days ago. I was very happy to receive this superb study. As you can imagine, I do not speak Romanian, but since I know French, I actually can read quite a bit of your book. In any case, your very good [French] resumé helped a great deal. I have reviewed your book for the first issue of *Proverbium* [1 (1984), 221-223] which should appear at the end of May or beginning of June. I think you have given a very detailed review of paremiology in the first section of the book, and the three sections on the conceptual, linguistic, and stylistic structure of Romanian proverbs are excellent. Please also send me copies of your articles on proverbs so that I can mention them in *Proverbium*. This yearbook is meant to help communication of international proverb scholars. Any help that I can get from you will be of much benefit to all the Romanian paremiologists and the colleagues around the world.

September 20, 1986 (WM):
First of all let me thank you for your very positive and kind review of the first volume of *Proverbium* [see *Revista de Etnografie şi Folclor*, 32 (1987), 102-105]. Our colleague Dumitru Stanciu had sent a copy of it a week before your package arrived, and I attempted to read the Romanian text as best as I could. Since my French is not too bad, I could understand some of it, but it was very considerate of you to enclose the English translation by Anca Vlăduţ Pegulescu. Please thank that colleague for me. I will make copies of the review in Romanian and English, and I will send it to Dan Barnes, Galit-Hasan-Rokem, Alan Dundes and some other colleagues. They will be able to see that the many good Romanian paremiological friends are basically satisfied with *Proverbium*. Thank you again for your good words. They will give me the strength and encouragement to continue editing this important yearbook.

January 22, 1988 (WM):
I was very excited to receive the excellent publication *Proverbium Dacoromania 2* [see vols. 1-4 (1986-1989] with contributions from so many Romanian friends. Even though I have not met anyone of you, I recognize the names, and I know how important their work is. But do not worry, one day we will all meet. [...] Thanks again for sending me this invaluable copy. You are a true friend!

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April 25, 1988 (CN):
Dear and good friend Wolfgang,/ I was very glad to receive the two books, as well as the data on your extraordinary activity on the field of paremiology – activity which has been materialized in so many published books and studies. Thank you very much for all of them. They will be of really great use in my studies on proverbs.

July 8, 1988 (WM):
When you have a chance, will you please send me the birthdays (or at least the years of birth) of the major Romanian paremiologists – yourself (of course), Stanciu, Tabercea, Ruxandoiu, Gheorghe, etc. etc. It is amazing to know how many paremiologists work in your wonderful country. I really must come and visit with all of you.

June ?, 1990 (CN):
I am very grateful to you for the nice letter [dated April 29, 1990] addressed to the Romanian researchers in Paremiology. I have sent copies to all Romanian paremiologists. Your letter has been published in the *Dimineaţa* newspaper in Turnu Severin. I have also received the six volumes of the excellent publication *Proverbium*. I shall offer them to the library of the University of Bucharest.

August 29, 1990 (WM):
First of all let me thank you for publishing my open letter to Romanian paremiologists in *Dimineata* [Nr. 20 (May 25-31, 1990), 1-2]. I consider this indeed a great honor, and I have enjoyed showing the newspaper to my colleagues here. So thank you again for your kindness, and I hope that the readers liked what I had to say.

My English letter of April 29, 1990 that had been translated into Romanian by Manuela Gheorghe was subsequently published also in *Revista de Etnografie şi Folclor*, 37 (1992), 432-433. Here is what it said:
Dear Romanian Paremiological Friends,/ The United States of America are far away from your beautiful country, but during the past year Romania has become very well known to every American. On the radio, on the television, and in the daily newspapers and weekly magazines we have been able to follow the exciting developments that have taken place in Romania. The courage, determination, and strength of the Romanian people have brought about a revolution that has freed the people from a terrible dictatorship. The Romanian people have suffered many years under this horrible regime of terror and bloodshed, but now you have liberated yourselves by fighting against this evil and murderous regime./ We realize that the Romanian people suffered for many years and that you had to sacrifice a lot in order to gain freedom, liberty and democracy. Many innocent Romanians lost their lives in

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the last days of the gruesome dictatorship, and the price was very high. But the fight and the spirit of the Romanian people made a success out of this courageous uprising, and now the world sees a free country in which people can live with dignity, pride and happiness./ Much work still needs to be done, but we all know that you are now looking forward to a much better future for yourselves and your children. I am absolutely sure and confident that Romania will maintain its freedom and independence as a sovereign nation, and scholars of the humanities, social and natural sciences will also play a large role in building a great Romania. I am sure that all of you as my paremiological friends played your significant roles in the revolution. Some of you certainly lost loved ones or you were injured yourselves, but now you are ready to rebuild a society that is based on human dignity, liberty for all, and above all a democratic government./ As you know, there are many proverbs in numerous languages that deal with freedom and liberty, and I am sure that our folk proverbs also played their role in helping to liberate the Romanian people. All of you struggled hard during the regime of terror to communicate your new paremiological research results with the rest of the world. It was my personal honor and pleasure to publish some papers from you in various volumes of *Proverbium* during a time when it was very difficult if not dangerous for you to publish in foreign countries. The articles and book reviews that appeared in *Proverbium* written by Emanuela Busoi, Dumitru Gaman, Gabriel Gheorghe, Constantin Negreanu, Anca Vlăduţ Pegulescu, Dumitru Stanciu, Alexandru Stanciulescu-Bârda, and Cezar Tabarcea are of extreme importance to international paremiology. Through *Proverbium* many scholars from around the world already know that there are many excellent paremiographers and paremiologists in Romania. But now that the Romanian people are free to express themselves as scholars throughout the world, all of you should send your proverb articles to journals in many different countries. It is of utmost importance that your work become even better known. Even more importantly, some of the truly excellent paremiological books by Constantin Negranu, Dumitru Stanciu and Cezar Tabarcea to name but a few should be translated into other languages. Romanian paremiological research is extremely important, and it is absolutely necessary that you communicate your research results to scholars throughout the world./ As editor of *Proverbium* I will certainly continue to publish some of your significant papers. I also look forward to finding and reading them in other publications. Now that you are free you will obviously also have much better access to international scholarship. It is, of course, a terrible shame that the university library of Bucureşti was destroyed during the revolution. But many of the books and journals can and will be replaced in due time. There will always be a price to be paid for revolutions. Other paremiologists will help you as much as they can by sending books and photocopied articles. These problems can be overcome, especially now that all of you have the hope and vision of a better future./ There is no doubt that your professional lives will improve as time goes on. The computer and other machines will help you in your research efforts, and it won't be long that you will have the kind of sophisticated

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equipment in your offices and homes that we have. But let me warn you – machines can help, but the ideas and hard work still come from you. Serious scholarly work depends on great and dedicated minds, and we all know that Romania has truly outstanding paremiologists. We know that you will continue your great work, and some of the labor will get a bit easier by getting acquainted with modern ways of word processing./ Your scholarly work will, of course, also be enhanced due to the fact that you and your families can live without fear for your lives. The Romanian people have suffered so much, and I can well imagine how happy all of you must feel right now as spring beautifies the countryside and the gardens of Romania. Spring always means hope and reawakening, and that is exactly what is taking place in your country right now. A new start, a new life of freedom and liberty, and a glorious future of democracy lie ahead of all of you. You, the Romanian people, have brought about the revolution, you have liberated yourselves from a most evil dictatorship, and the rest of the world admires and applauds all of you for your courage and belief in a better future./ Let me finish these warm greetings to you, my dear Romanian paremiological friends, by congratulating you and all other Romanians – young and old, rich and poor, female and male – on your most successful and wonderful revolution. You have accomplished what appeared to be impossible a mere year ago, and you are now on the path towards a brave new world. Speaking for paremiologists from around the world I close these greetings by congratulating all of you on your newly gained freedom. Be assured that many of your paremiological friends look forward to visit you in Romania soon to see for ourselves what the Romanian people have accomplished. I know that I look forward to such a visit with anticipation and joy. All the very best to you, your families and all the Romanian people./ With kind regards,/ Prof. Wolfgang Mieder/ Editor, *Proverbium*

2. Alexandru Stanciulescu-Bârda (born February 23, 1953). Our correspondence started in November 1986 in English, switched to French in 1987, and continues today in English:

September 15, 1987 (WM):
C'est incroyable que les parémiologistes roumains on fait sur le sujét des proverbes! J'admire beaucoup leurs travails, et je sais que les parémiologistes roumains sont parmis les plus célèbres du monde! Je pense de mes amis Chitimia, Negreanu, Ruxandoiu, Stanciu, Tabarcea, vous et plusieurs autres. C'est mangnifique, la parémiologie et parémiographie roumaine! C'est un modèle pour tous le mode!

February 3, 1991 (AS):
Je vous annonce avec douleur que notre ami commun Prof. Dr. Constantin Negreanu est mort. Sa disparition (49 années) a laissé un grand vide autour de nous. Il était le lider des parémiologues roumains. Le cancer l'a vaincu.

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February 25, 1991 (WM):
Je suis très triste de savoir que mon cher ami roumain et parémiologique Constantin Negreanu est mort. Il était un parémiologiste international, et je suis heureux que nous avons des travails parémiologiques de lui dans *Proverbium*. C'est très triste de perdre le lider des parémiologues roumains. Il était mon ami, mais je ne l'ai jamais rencontré personellement. C'est très dommage.

Many years later, September 29, 1999 (WM):
Thank you for your manuscript on "The Romanian Paremiologist Constantin Negreanu (1942-1991). We willpublish it in vol. 17 (2000)of *Proverbium* [it appeared in 18 (2001), 307-318]. Your article gives a clear picture of the important work of our friend Constantin Negreanu and other significant Romanian paremiologists. I know that the international readers of *Proverbium* will be very interested in your article. I wish you and the other Romanian paremiologists the very best. It is still my hope to visit all of you and your beautiful country sometime in the future. If you were to have an international congress in a few years, I would definitely want to come.

3. Daniela Ionescu (born July 8, 1951). She is the newest paremiologist at the University of Bucharest who spent the spring semester from January 2 until June 30, 2015, at the University of Vermont with me on a senior Fulbright scholarship to immerse herself in proverb studies and to write a book on English and Romanian idioms and proverbs relating to food. Our modern correspondence, starting only in 2013, comprises well over 150 e-mail pages! Here are just a few short excerpts from our earliest letters to show how this lasting scholarly relationship and special friendship started:

March 5, 2013 (DI):
I am writing to you on account of your well-reputed expertise and prolific work on idiomaticity and paremiology. I am a Romanian professor, teaching applied linguistics and translation studies (English and Spanish) at the University of Bucharest. [...] I am writing this letter to ask you – as a most polite request – [...] to convey a personal invitation to me, as a visiting Fulbright scholar at your university, so that I could submit it to the Fulbright Commission in Bucharest.

March 6, 2013 (WM):
Thank you so much for your most kind letter from Romania. Over the years I have had many contacts with Romanian proverb scholars, notably Constantin Negreanu and Dumitru Stanciu. Unfortunately both of them have died now. But there are also Cezar Tabarcea, Alexandru Stanciulescu-Bârda, and Anca Vlăduţ Pegulescu. Perhaps you know them./ I obviously will be very happy to support your Fulbright application. And YES, you could come to the University of Vermont to work in my

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International Proverb Archives, if you were to get a Fulbright fellowship. [...] Of course, you could use all of the over fifteen thousand publications on proverbial matters in my archive, and I would have a desk and a computer and an office for you to work at.

May 1, 2013 (WM):
Dear Corina Danaila,/ It is with much pleasure and excitement that I am writing to you in order to inform you that I would indeed be delighted to welcome Dr. Daniela Ionescu as a Fulbright scholar from Romania sometime during 2014-2015 here at the University of Vermont in Burlington, Vermont, USA. [...] We would do everything we could to make her feel welcome. [...] I might add that it has been an honor for me to have worked with a number of Romanian proverb scholars during the past three decades. My archives also contain numerous proverb collections from your culture and language.

January 17, 2014 (DI):
I have the great pleasure to inform you that I have received a letter from the Fulbright Commission in Bucharest, saying that I was admitted as a finalist, together with other senior scholars for doing research in the US, at your university, Burlington University. [...] I am so happy that I will have the opportunity to come and meet you and do research in your so widely documented library... This is due to your readiness in receiving me as a senior scholar – I will never forget how quickly you answered my initial question about the possibility to work and investigate idioms and proverbs in your department, almost one year ago. I am grateful and honored to be able, quite soon now, to come and work for further insight into Romanian idioms in comparison with the English-American ones [dealing with food, eating, etc.].

January 17, 2014 (WM):
WONDERFUL! BEAUTIFUL! FANTASTIC! Congratulations on being chosen a Fulbright scholar! You have every reason to be very, very happy and proud of this accomplishment and recognition! I so much look forward to having you here in Vermont. In due time you will send me more details about when you will come, how long you will stay, etc., etc. For now I just want to congratulate you and thank you for sharing the good news with me. You did this all on your own! All that I did is write a letter in support. That is something I gladly did for you, as you know./ Celebrate, my friend, and all the very best!

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International Bibliography of Paremiography. Collections of Proverbs, Proverbial Expressions and Comparisons, Quotations, Graffiti, Slang, and Wellerisms (Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2011). The impressive scholarly publications on Romanian proverbs is listed in the two volumes of my *International Bibliography of Paremiology and Phraseology* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012). In order to honor my personal Romanian friends Nicolae Constantinescu, Gabriel Gheorghe, Daniela Ionescu, Constantin Negreanu, Anca Vlăduţ Pegulescu, Dumitru Stanciu, Alexandru Stanciulescu-Bârda, and Cezar Tabercea, I am also listing their publications that I have been able to integrate into my International Proverb Archives in the second part of this bibliography:

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IN MEMORIAM
ALEXANDRU DOBRE (1940-2015)

RODICA RALIADE

Author of studies, articles and books, the folklorist Alexandru Dobre was an excellent "ethnological detective". His passion to discover novel information sources – as the editor and preface author of some reference national ethnography and folklore works – made him an important saver of the cultural memory.

His activity was also significant in the teaching area. He was the professor and mentor of folklore, ethnology and ethnography students. However, we will always remember Alexandru Dobre as the editor in chief of "Journal of Ethnography and Folklore" (1986-2000[1]) and as the supporter and promoter of ethnological publications.

Alexandru Dobre will remain in the history of Romanian folkloristics as editor in chief of "Revista de Etnografie şi Folclor" ("Journal of Ethnography and Folklore"), as contributing editor of "Memoriile Comisie de Folclor" ("Folklore Commission Reports"), between 1987 and 1996, member of the editorial board of "Analele Academiei Române" ("Romanian Academy Annals"), 1977-1989.

In 1962, when the Institute of Folklore was taken over by the Romanian Academy and changed its name into the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore (1963[2]), "Revista de Folclor" ("Journal of Folklore"), set up by Professor Mihai Pop in 1956, also changed its name becoming "Revista de Etnografie şi Folclor" ("Journal of Ethnography and Folklore")[3]. Between 1980 and 1985, when Al. I. Amzulescu was the editor in chief of the Journal, Alexandru Dobre was the editorial secretary. After 1986, when he was the editor in chief, he had to face a lot of difficulties: the number of copies was significantly lower, the international exchange was suspended, and information could be barely spread. In 1986, the journal had two issues a year. It was due to Alexandru Dobre's efforts that the journal started to be published quarterly (1987-1989) and after 1989, it appeared every other month and resumed the international exchange.

[1] Or until 2006, when it was published volume 45 (2000), no 2-3, edited by Al. Dobre.
[2] http://www.acad.ro/ief/ief_ist.htm
[3] In 1958 appeared the first yearbook of the Transylvanian Ethnographic Museum.

REF/JEF, 1–2, p. 183–187, Bucureşti, 2016

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Student, collaborator and disciple of Professor Mihai Pop, Al. Dobre followed his mentor's principles and scientific beliefs regarding the balance between heritage and innovation: "...we believe it mandatory for those activities and programmes that proved to be solid and valid to be resumed in adequate forms, adapted to theoretical and methodological requirements of our time or to those that will come in the future. From this point of view, ensuring the continuity element as well as the adjustment to the contemporary requirements seems to be the best way to honour and valorise what we have inherited and also to motivate and guarantee the viability of continuity and spreading the research in the domain of traditional Romanian culture"[4].His activity as editor in chief will be focused on organizing and efficiently managing the ethno-folkloric related activities under the aegis of the Romanian Academy. On the 9th of January 1987, due to AlexandruDobre's efforts, the Academy presidium approved the Folklore Committee, which had met before, between 1946 and 1948. Zoe Dumitrescu-Buşulenga, Member of Academy, was the president, while N. Constantinescu, I. Oprişan and AlexandruDobre were scientific secretaries. IordanDatcu, StancaCiobanu, Ion Cuceu and I.H. Ciubotaru were the members of this committee whose main objective was to periodically organize public conferences on a very generous list of the topics. They published the Folklore Committee Reports (1987-1996: I (1987); II(1988); III (1989); IV (1990); IV, part 2 – *Ethno-folkloric monographs*, 1990; V (1991); VI (1992); VII (1993); VIII (1994-1996)) run by Zoe Dumitrescu-Buşulenga, Member of Academy. The deputy editor in chief and the one putting together the Journal was again the inexhaustible Alexandru Dobre, the editorial secretary being Iordan Datcu.

The new series of "Anuarul Institutului de Etnografie şi Folclor" ("the Yearly Book of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore") and "Memoriile Comisiei de Folclor"[5], together with "Revista de Etnografie şi Folclor" will ensure the continuity of the Academy's publications, Alexandru Dobre contributing to their preservation. "Memoriile Comisiei de Folclor" was issued to publish only the best papers delivered at the Folklore Committee Conferences. As these became scarce, there were other studies and articles published here. However, as a result of some budget cuts at the Romanian Academy Publishing House, the real editor of these volumes, Alexandru Dobre, could not issue them after 1996.

Al. Dobre was also a promoter of periodicals published in other cities, such as "Studii şi comunicări de etnologie" ("Ethnological Studies and Papers") in Sibiu. After launching volume VI (1992), this year book became one of the publications supported by the Romanian Academy. It still appears today thanks to another dedicated editor in chief, Ilie Moise. Alexandru Dobre helped this volume

[4] Al Dobre, *Folclorul şi etnografia sub protecţia Academiei Române* [*Folklore and Ethnography Supported by the Romanian Academy*], Academia Română. Fundaţia Naţională pentru Ştiinţă şi Artă. Institutul de Istorie şi Teorie Literară "G. Călinescu, Bucharest, 2002, p. 20.

[5] "Memoriile Comisiei de Folclor" ["Folklore Commission Reports"], Bucharest, EAR, tom II (1988), 1992; tom III (1989), 1993; tom IV (1990), 1994 and the rest to the latest, tom VIII (1994-1996), published in 1997.

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change the sphere of influence, thus entering the international exchange programme, until 1998. Apart from his interest and activity in the publishing area, Alexandru Dobre was also an important researcher, the topics he approached being related to the history of ethnologic studies, with a strong focus on the evolution of ethnography and folkloristics within Romanian Academy projects and he published lots of books, articles and studies regarding this area.

As he stated, "with its titular and corresponding members, the Academy guided the research activity and imposed its point of view in all the matters of traditional culture"[6]. Ov. Densusianu was the first to create an identity for the Romanian folkloristics and turned it into an autonomous scientific discipline. Alexandru Dobre took up the objectives set by Ov. Densusianu and continued by D. Caracostea, referring to ethno-folkloric research. Out of respect for the predecessors, Alexandru Dobre will thoroughly study the documents in the Academy's Archive and the "Annals of Romanian Academy", launched by Al. Odobescu. Continuing the work of some foklorists such as OctavPăun[7] and Ov. Bîrlea, Alexandru Dobre commented upon and brought arguments for the scientific features of the acceptance speeches delivered by S. Fl. Marian (*The Chromatic Characteristic of the Romanian People*), Duiliu Zamfirescu (*The Poporanism in Literature*), George Enescu (*On Iacob Negruzzi and on Music Received at the Romanian Academy*), Lucian Blaga (*Praise for the Romanian Village*) as well as for exceptional contributions to the establishment and shaping the domain, made by Al. Odobescu, Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, Tudor Pamfile, Ioan Bianu, Moses Gaster, Ov. Densusianu, Simion Mehedinți, DimitrieCaracostea, etc.

Alexandru Dobre's PhD dissertation, *The Folklore of Military Camps. Army and War in Romanian Folklore* (published in 1994), coordinated by Professor Mihai Pop, brings a new methodological approach of this folkloric category, distancing from the traditional, sequential perspective. The folklore of the military camps together with folk narratives and urban songs are among the categories reconsidered by Alexandru Dobre in his studies and articles.

Another avenue of his professional concerns was represented by editing and publishing rare folklore collections and works, thus reintroducing them into the scientific circuit. We should mention here Mihai Pop's *Romanian Folklore* (1998), Mihai Canianu, Salomon Segall, Ion Aurel Candrea, Lazăr Șăineanu. The results of his endeavour are visible in 11 books, 5 critical editions, hundreds of articles, studies and prefaces.

After 1990, when the Romanian society started to experience the idea that national identity is an obsolete perspective, Alexandru Dobre and the editorial board of "Journal of Ethnography and Folklore" supported the need to recover and reconsider the forgotten or neglected Romanian values of the previous decades.

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[6] Idem, *ibidem*, p.18.

[7] Octav Păun and Antoaneta Tănăsescu, *Discursuri de recepție la Academia Română* [Romanian Academy Acceptance Speeches], Bucharest, ALBATROS, 1980.

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From my point of view, the decade 1990-2000 was marked by scientific emulation, as the Journal increased the number of copies and resumed the international exchange. At the same time, the concepts were reconsidered and the technological novelties (the use of computers and internet) triggered innovative and updated solutions.

Concurrently, Alexandru Dobre's activity (reading, re-reading, recovering ethnologically important works) preserved and resurrected the scientific heritage of this domain. After 1990, the "Journal of Ethnography and Folklore" reconsidered the main objectives of the previous generations (*Romanian folklore corpus, thematic catalogue, bibliography* and *the folkloric atlas*)[8], goals set in the interwar years by Ov. Densusianu and D. Caracostea, and then continued by the researchers of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, coordinated by Professor Mihai Pop.

Assessing the theoretical and applied achievements prior to 1990, highlighting the future scientific strategies for studying past projects, Alexandru Dobre always believed and supported the far-reaching projects. Therefore, he stressed the importance of theoretical and methodological approach of working instruments. Personally, I want to thank him for all his support in taking up and working on the permanent section of bibliography, under his direct guidance. In 1993, the "Journal of Ethnography and Folklore" published *Romanian Ethnography and Folklore Bibliography (1989-1990)*, Revista de etnografie şi folclor, tom 38 (1993), no 6, pp. 613-674 (838 titles), and in 1994, it was issued *The Bibliography of the Journal of Ethnography and Folklore (1981-1993)*, tom 39 (1994), no 3-4, pp 329-380. These two bibliographical pieces mirrored the desideratum of the Institute's scientific management and of the Journal's editor in chief to continue the permanent section of specialized bibliography.

When I started my activity as a bibliographer, Alexandru Dobre gave me a 14-page letter, signed by him and dated 13.03.1993. Written on A4 pages, this document was a real methodological guide for writing bibliographies. He had reviewed my first bibliography, making corrections, comments and notes useful for writing the title cards. This letter is a real bibliographic lesson, necessary to anyone who starts working in this domain which requires both bibliographical and ethnological knowledge.

I personally consider that Alexandru Dobre, the editor in chief of „Revista de etnografie şi folclor" handed down to me a difficult scientific task, doing me a great honour and also surprising me with the trust he showed me. Whether or not I have been worthy of it, this is a question that will be answered by those who use the bibliographical works I have done and coordinated. Each of them holds a great part of his lessons to his disciple. This makes me think about all those young people whose first articles were published in the Journal, thus given the opportunity of scientific debut.

[8] Alexandru Dobre, *Folclorul şi etnografia sub protecţia Academiei Române...*, p. 235.

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In conclusion, I would like to enclose the list of books published by Alexandru Dobre. The exhaustive list of his works is longer, offering a synthesis of his research topics and a review of the phases covered by ethnology in the 50 years when Alexandru Dobre pursued his rich and diverse scientific career.

For Alexandru Dobre, the specialist, coordinator and editor in chief, grateful and respectful remembrance.

List of published books

1. **Al. Dobre**, *Idealul unității naționale în cultura română* [The Ideal of National Unity in Romanian Culture], Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1988, 316 p. The book received Romanian Academy's "Nicolae Bălcescu" award in 1990.
2. **Al. Dobre**, *Folclorul taberei militare: armata și războiul în folclorul românesc. O nouă abordare* [Folklore of Military Camps: Army and War in Romanian Folklore], Bucharest, Univers Publishing House, 1993; second edition, Bucharest, Deliana Publishing House, 2001, 149 p.
3. Spiru Haret University, Faculty of Foreign Languages, Professor **Nicolae Constantinescu,** Reader **Al. Dobre**, *Etnografie și folclor românesc: note de curs* [pentru uzul studenților]. [Romanian Ethnography and Folklore: Class Notes. For students' use] Partea I. Familia științelor etnologice, [Part I, The family of ethnological sciences], Bucharest, Fundația "România de Mâine", 2001 + bibl., 184 p.; second edition, Bucharest, Fundației „România de Mâine", 2008, 163 p.
4. **Al. Dobre**, *Enciclopedia culturii tradiționale românești: studii monografice,* [The Encyclopaedia of Romanian Traditional Culture: Monographic Studies] vol.1, Bucharest, Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2001, 307 p.
5. **Al. Dobre**, *Folclorul și etnografia sub protecția Academiei Române* [Folklore and Ethnography Supported by the Romanian Academy], Bucharest, Academia Română. Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă; Institutul de Istorie și Teorie Literară „G. Călinescu", Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2002, 284 (-287) p. + photos + notes
6. **Al. Dobre**, *Academia Română. Cercetareașipunereaînvaloare a culturiitradiționale*, [Romanian Academy. Researching and Valorizing Traditional Culture] Bucharest, Academia Română. Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă; Institutul de Istorie și Teorie Literară „G. Călinescu", Editura Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2004, 449 (-450) p. + notes.
7. **Al. Dobre**, *Etnologia poporului român. Cercetători, culegători, colecții, motive fundamentale, capodopere*[The Ethnology of the Romanian People. Researchers, collectors, collections, fundamental motifs, masterpieces], Bucharest, Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2007, 656 p.
8. **Al. Dobre,** *Etnologi și etnologie.* I. Cercetarea etnologică în România. II. Personalități ale științei și culturii. *Muzeologie etnologică.* O disciplină tânără, în curs de formare și de cristalizare, de mare actualitate și eficiență, ramură a familiei științelor etnologice. Repere introductive generale [Ethnologists and Ethnology. I. Ethnological research in Romania. II. Personalities of science and culture. Ethnological Museology. A young, forming and crystallizing discipline, a topical and efficient branch of ethnological studies. General introductory landmarks], Bucharest, Terra Em, 2008, 299 p.
9. **Al. Dobre,** Spiru Haret University, Faculty of Foreign Languages, *Etnologie și folclor românesc* [Romanian Ethnology and Folklore] Bucharest, Fundației "România de Mâine", 2008, 163 p.
10. **Al. Dobre,** *Academia Română înalt și reprezentativ așezământ cultural-științific* [Romanian Academy, high and representative cultural and scientific institution] [vol. I], Bucharest, Editura Terra Em, 2009, 292 p.
11. **Al. Dobre,** *Etnologie și folclor românesc* [Romanian Ethnology and Folklore], Bucharest, Fundația „România de Mâine", 2008, 163 p.

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BUCHAREST, 1969: THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE „INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR FOLK NARRATIVE RESEARCH" (FACSIMILE PAPERS, PART I)

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION, PHOTOS, AND A FORMAL LETTER

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAŞA

On August 26-31, 1969, the 5th Congress of the prestigious ISFNR (International Society for Folk Narrative Research[1]) took place in Bucharest. Itwas patronized by the Romanian Academy and the State Department for Education, and was actually organized and informally hosted by the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore (since 1990, The „Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore). That event marked the development of the literary folkloristics both in Romania and around the world, as well as the career and prestige of all the experts that were present on the occasion. Of all of them, many at that time already were important personalities, whereas others, emerging or promising ones, were going to become great and influential in the following years or decades. Hence, it is worth stressing: the 1969 ISFNR gathering was consistent and important not only to Romanian experts; many of the ideas and papers that were presented formally or discussed informally had evolved over years and eventually turned into articles, books, anthologies, typologies and treatises which, throughout following decades, marked solidly the academic standards and contributions in various countries, institutions, and interdisciplinary studies worldwide.

The event was described in the „Revista de etnografie şi folclor" (this very periodical, at that time just a [actually *The*] national academic journal), the reviewer specifying that 186 folklorists (out of whom only 36 were Romanian) attended the congress, delivering 113 papers[2]. Many of them were mentioned, names, titles and short comments on some of the presentations being noted down.

[1] See webpages at http://www.isfnr.org/.

[2] „Revista de etnografie şi folclor" 1/1970: 81-85.

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The history of both the 1969 Congress organizing in Bucharest and the print finalizing of an intended volume comprising some of the delivered papers had been complex. Hereby, this is just briefly presented, once we decided that it would be the best option to publish nowadays what was selected at that time (then of tenexpanded and/or translated during the following years) in order to represent and make a consistent proceedings volume. That volume, however, never came out, and was considered lost; only to be rediscovered recently by dr. Sabina Ispas in the Folklore Archives of the „C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore. Consequently, since now on, over several volumes, our journal will publish in facsimile format those unknown/forgotten participants' manuscripts.

The first, introductory page, represents an official letter (in Romanian and French) issued six years after the event, which demonstrates that the management of our institution at that time still worked for securing a publishing opportunity for what was presented in Bucharest. The papersheet reads:

„(The Publishing House of the Academy of the Romania Socialist Republic / Calea Victoriei 125 / 7907-3 Nov. 1975 / tel. 507680) To Comrade/ Prof. Mihai Pop/ Institute of Ethnography and Folklore// – Webring to your knowledge that at the recent Bookfair in Frankfurt, the company De Gruyter, to whom, at your recommendation, a co-editing offer, of the Papers from the 5th Congress of the International Society for the Study of Folk Fairytales was made, did not give any positive answer. This is why we return to you the works' manuscript.// – Mr. Patrice Laurent, the director of the company Klincksieck, 11 rue de Lille, 75005 Paris, in a letter of October 22, c.y, writes to us:/ <<We take advantage of the occasion for letting you know our general interest in two research projects currently led by Romanian experts:/ 1. .../ 2. Research works on dance, supervized by prof. Mihai Pop in cooperation with Mr. Radu Niculescu and Mrs. Anca Giurchescu.../ Is the publishing (of these works) really planned by your Publishing House? If yes, in what timespan and pages number?>>// Please answer either directly to Mr. Laurent, of inform us in this respect./ Director/ C. Busuioceanu".

As already mentioned, the intended volume, comprising some of the Congress's papers, never came out, though in that sense both in Romania and abroad – despite the obvious reference and editorial mistakes, as well as communication difficulties – negotiations did take place.

We start the restitutions flow with the formal, opening words of the President of the Romanian Academy, Miron Niculescu, and of professor Kurt Ranke (Georg-August University, Göttingen), the founder and president of the ISFNR (from 1962 to 1974).

Next comes the keyspeaker paper delivered by Mihai Pop, the director at that time of the Institute of Ethongraphy and Folklore, who, after the colloquial greeting lines,syntetize many theoretical contributions and fieldwork research already done in the Western Europe, as well as launches and promotessome guidelines for the future development of the Romanian folkloristics in the fields of folk and popular prose.

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Articles proper, by Kurt Ranke, Lauri Honko (University of Turku, president of the ISFNR from 1974 to 1989), Alan Dundes (University of California, Berkeley), and E.V. Pomerantzeva (Moscow) then follow, in a selection and succesion made by Sabina Ispas, the current director of the „C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore and editor-in-chief of the present journal, who, as a junior researcher, was also involved in the works of the 5th ISFNR Congress.

Onsite taken photos, accompaning and illustrating the 1969 Congress at that time (as well as now, hereby), belong to the Folklore Archive of our Institute and are identified by their archival recording numbers.

Photo 1: The welcoming site of the Romanian Academy's building in 1969 (FL 1912/17).

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Tovarăşului

Prof. Mihai Pop
Institutul de etnografie şi folclor

— Vă aducem la cunoştinţă că la recentul Tîrg de carte de la Frankfurt, firma De Gruyter căreia, la recomandarea dv., i s-a făcut ofertă de coeditare a Actelor celui de al V-lea Congres al Societăţii internaţionale pentru studiul basmelor populare, nu a dat un răspuns pozitiv. De aceea vă restituim alăturat manuscrisul lucrării.

- Dl.Patrice Laurent, directorul firmei Klincksieck, 11 rue de Lille, 75005 Paris, într-o scrisoare din 22 oct. a.c. ne scrie:

"Nous profitons de l'occasion pour vous faire connaître notre intérêt de principe pour deux ordres de recherches actuellement dirigées par des savants roumains:

1.....

2. des recherches sur la danse dirigées par le prof.M.Pop en collaboration avec M.Radu Niculescu et Mme Anca Giurchescu.....La publication (de ces recherches)est-elle actuellement prévue par vos Editions? Si oui,dans quel délai et pour combien de pages?"

Vă rugăm fie să răspundeţi direct dlui Laurent,fie să ne informaţi pe noi în acest sens.

DIRECTOR
C. Busuioceanu

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MESSAGE DE SALUT DE L'ACADEMICIEN MIRON NICOLESCU, PRÉSIDENT DE L'ACADÉMIE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE SOCIALISTE DE ROUMANIE

Mesdames et Messieurs,
Chers auditeurs,

Il m'est particulièrement agréable de vous transmettre, à vous, tous les participants aux travaux du V-e Congrès de la Société Internationale pour l'Etude des narrations populaires, un salut cordial au nom du Présidium de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, ainsi qu'en mon nom personnel.

Nous sommes heureux de constater qu'aux spécialistes de chez nous se sont associés au présent Congrès, un nombre important de représentants de la vie scientifique de l'étranger, parmi lesquels nous remarquons des personnalités éminentes, fait qui confère un éclat et une garantie supplémentaires à la réussite des travaux de ce forum et atteste en même temps l'esprit compréhensif de coopération scientifique caractéristique à la contemporanéité.

En accordant son appui à l'organisation de ce Congrès, notre Académie a tenu compte de l'intérêt insigne et de la grande importance de l'échange direct d'idées ainsi que du caractère fructueux des contacts personnels réciproques des hommes de science. L'idée de favoriser la coopération internationale dans le domaine de votre discipline, nous a paru d'autant plus importante que nous avons eu dès le commencement l'image du rôle primordial que joue l'étude des narrations populaires dans l'effort convergent, entrepris par les sciences humaines contemporaines afin d'étendre et d'approfondir la connaissance de soi-même. Comme élaborations traditionnelles de l'esprit humain, les narrations populaires forment un fond de valeur exceptionnelle ethnologique et anthropologique. En insérant des structures de profondeur, de la pensée et de la

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sensibilité de l'homme, structures qui sont communes sur de vastes surfaces géo-culturelles, en déroulant, d'autre part, une luxuriante diversité de styles, en fonction du milieu immédiat, les narrations populaires portent témoignage des permanences humaines, ainsi que du génie national de chaque peuple pris à part.

Votre congrès se propose comme thème principal, l'étude des connexions qui régissent la génèse et la fonction sociale des narrations populaires. Je salue cette initiative dont le but est de stimuler les efforts qui tendent à mettre en évidence la manière dont la nécessité agit dans le folklore. On crée ainsi des prémisses pour l'introduction du modelage logique dans les études de folklore et devient possible, en même temps que la consolidation de la rigueur scientifique des résultats et que l'extension des recherches interdisciplinaires, l'abord complexe venant de plusieurs côtés, de la merveilleuse réalité que représentent les narrations populaires.

En ce qui nous concerne, nous considérons l'organisation de ce Congrès dans la Capitale de la République Socialiste de Roumanie comme un événement qui marque encore un moment important dans l'histoire, datant de plus d'un siècle, de l'intérêt manifesté par notre Académie pour la culture populaire et, surtout, pour l'étude des narrations populaires. Nous rappelons, en ce sens, que grâce à l'initiative de l'Académie a été élaborée et publiée, en 1895, la monographie comparative monumentale : "Les contes des roumains" par Lazăr Şăineanu, dont les fines analyses gardent encore aujourd'hui leur valeur et qui a représenté, à la date de sa parution, l'un des premiers efforts efficients, sur le plan mondial, de systématiser et de rédiger un "corpus" narratif national.

De nos jours, cette ancienne et permanente tradition de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie se matérialise dans les préoccupations de l'Institut d'ethnographie et de folklore, de l'Institut d'histoire et de théorie littéraire "G. Călinescu", des instituts de spécialité de Cluj et de Jassy, qui bénéficient, de cette manière, non seulement du

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privilège de disposer de cette aire de recherche, si généreuse, qu'est le folklore roumain, mais aussi du fond substantiel d'informations et d'expérience méthodologique accumulé par les dévanciers, complété et enrichi par des liaisons durables internationales.

En conclusion, permettez-moi d'exprimer la conviction que les débats qui vont se dérouler dans les journées qui suivront, sur le fond expressif et agréable des manifestations du Festival International de folklore, constitueront un moment important dans l'évolution du folklore narratif et s'inscriront comme éléments importants de la cristallisation des lois qui régissent ce domaine, objectif qui a polarisé l'énergie intellectuelle et affective de tous ceux qui sont présents à ce Congrès.

À ces pensées, j'ajoute le souhait de voir couronné l'effort que vous faites, par un très beau succès, et je déclare ouverts les travaux du Congrès.

Photo 2, 3: The Congress Presidium (opening session) at the Romanian Academy (FL 1913/19, 1912/23).

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(Prof. dr. Kurt Ranke)

Exzellenzen! Herr Präsident! Meine Damen und Herren!

Erlauben Sie mir, daß ich als derzeitig noch amtierender Präsident der International Society for Folk-Narrative Research im Namen dieser Gesellschaft und aller anwesenden Gäste und Freunde unseren tief empfundenen Dank für die so großartige Gastfreundschaft ausspreche, die uns auf dieser Tagung erwiesen wird. Der Dank gilt allen fördernden Institutionen und ihren Vertretern, er gilt im besonderen Maße dem rumänischen Organisationskommittee und seinem Präsidenten, Herrn Prof. Dr. Mihai Pop und seinen vielen ungenannten Mitarbeitern. Ich habe schon häufiger bei ähnlichen Gelegenheiten auf die Mühen und die Arbeitslast hingewiesen, die mit der Vorbereitung solcher Kongresse verbunden sind. Man kann sie wohl nur recht würdigen, wenn man selber einmal so etwas vorbereitet hat. Ich möchte daher Ihnen, verehrter lieber Herr Kollege und Freund Mihai Pop, der Sie ja doch der Initiator dieser Tagung sind, von ganzen Herzen wünschen, daß der zu erwartende große Erfolg die Aufwendungen an Mühen und Arbeit ebenso wie an Organisationstalent reichlich kompensieren möge. Ich danke Ihnen noch einmal für alles, was Sie, nicht nur in diesem Falle, für die internationale Wissenschaft getan haben.

Ich danke aber auch Ihnen, meine Damen und Herren, die Sie die Anstrengungen langer Reisen, oft über Kontinente und Ozeane hinweg, nicht gescheut haben, um hierher nach Bukarest zu kommen. Unsere Society ist jetzt fast 10 Jahre alt. 1959 wurde sie in Kiel geplant, 1960 in Paris provisorisch gegründet, 1964 in Athen endgültig konsolidiert. Als ich vor 10 Jahren in Kiel sagte, daß keine Wissenschaft mehr auf weltumspannender Gemeinsamkeit angewiesen sei als unsere, und keine daher auch mehr geeignet sei, Brücken zwischen den Völkern zu schlagen, als wiederum unsere, konnte man nur hoffen, daß das nicht ein Wunschtraum, ein utopisches Programm bleiben sollte. Sie haben diese Brücken geschlagen, Sie haben über alle Grenzen, gleich welcher Art hinweg den Weg zueinander gefunden. Die International Society for Folk-Narrative Research ist heute keine Society mehr, sie ist eine Familie. Daß das gelungen ist, ist allein Ihr Verdienst, meine Damen und Herren. Dafür danke ich Ihnen.

Und lassen Sie mich nun in ganz kurzen Ausführungen meine Gedanken über Assoziationsphänomene in der Prosaüberlieferung vortragen.

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La poétique du conte populaire

Prof. Mihai Pop-Bucarest

Permettez-moi, chers collègues, de joindre aux chaudes paroles de salut adressées au V-ème Congrès de la Société Internationale pour la recherche des narrations populaires par le Présidium de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie et par le Ministère de l'Enseignement, le salut du Comité d'Organisation, et de vous dire à la manière folklorique: "Bine aţi venit şi spor la muncă!" (Soyez les bienvenus chez nous et succès au travail!)

Permettez-moi, de même, de remercier, à cette occasion, l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie et le Ministère de l'Enseignement, nos fors dirigeants d'Etat, pour toute l'aide accordée à l'organisation de ce Congrès à Bucarest.

C'est, pour les folkloristes roumains, pour les institutions qui s'occupent de l'étude du folklore et avant tout pour l'Institut d'Ethnographie et de folklore, une joie particulière de pouvoir héberger cette importante réunion durant laquelle nous aurons l'occasion, par un échange collégial d'informations et d'opinions, de faire avancer la recherche des narrations populaires, de connaître les derniers résultats obtenus par chacun d'entre nous et de trouver, peut-être, de nouvelles voies pour les investigations futures.

Nous aurons l'occasion de lier des amitiés, de nous rapprocher davantage et par cela de contribuer au rapprochement de nos peuples, car, ainsi que le disait notre cher Président, le professeur Kurt Ranke au Congrès de Kiel:"Nulle science n'a autant de possibilités de réveiller et de cultiver l'entente entre les peuples que notre science qui

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s'occupe de l'être et de l'esprit des peuples exprimés par les formes prégnantes et belles des narrations populaires."[1]

Notre pays est connu comme l'un des pays d'Europe où la tradition folklorique est encore vivante. Par cela, il offre un riche champ d'investigation, non seulement pour les phénomènes et les faits du passé, mais aussi pour le processus si complexe et si plein de conséquences pour l'avenir culturel de l'humanité par lequel la culture populaire s'intègre dans la culture moderne, pour l'étude de l'impact entre la culture traditionnelle et la culture de la société industrielle.

L'un des traits essentiels de la culture roumaine moderne est l'attachement à la tradition nationale et aux valeurs de la culture universelle.

C'est le facteur qui a déterminé l'attention particulière qu'on accorde, dans l'ensemble de la recherche scientifique de notre pays, à la recherche folklorique. C'est à cette appréciation que nous devons aussi le fait que notre état accorde tant de possibilités à la recherche de la littérature populaire, à la création d'une collection systématique de contes populaires, à la recherche des narrations.

Dans l'histoire de notre discipline ce congrès se situe à un siècle et demi, à vrai dire à 157 ans depuis l'inauguration de la recherche moderne des narrations populaires par la publication de la collection des frères Grimm: Kinder und Hausmärchen. Pendant cet intervalle, nos connaissances se sont continuellement accrues par la publication d'un grand nombre de narrations recueillies chez toute les peuples du monde. La sphère de recherche s'est élargie par l'inclusion de nouvelles zones, par la confrontation avec des cultures variées. L'élargissement de la sphère a eu comme résultat la diversification des problèmes, ce qui nous a aidé en même temps à gagner de

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nouveaux éléments pour la compréhension du domaine. Cela a conduit, tant dans la recherche des narrations populaires que dans toutes les disciplines humaines, à théseuriser un très grand nombre de faits que nous devons maîtriser, systématiser pour pouvoir les comprendre. C'est à cette nécessité de maîtriser la multitude des informations par le choix des faits pertinents de l'immensité des variantes, que cherche à répondre le thème principal de notre congrès: La recherche des lois de la narration populaire.

Nos précurseurs ont élaboré de grandes constructions théoriques sur l'origine et la diffusion des contes, les faisant dériver des mythes indo-européens ou en les corrélant, par les motifs sur lesquels la fantaisie populaire les a créés, avec une mythologie astrale présumée. Plus tard, à ces constructions ils en ont opposé d'autres, non moins grandioses, sur l'origine indienne et sur la diffusion des contes par la voie de l'immigration de cet ancien noyau culturel dans le monde entier. Il ont essayé aussi, d'expliquer l'apparition du genre par la polygenèse due à des réactions psychologiques similaires chez des hommes se trouvant aux mêmes stades de développement social, par des théories sur l'origine omérique ou par des considérations éthnopsychologiques.

Plus récemment, comme un réflexe des révélations archéologiques sur la culture néolithique, on a essayé de situer l'apparition du conte comme représentation artistique bien contournée dans le néolithique.

Contrairement à ces grandioses constructions où, aux élans romantiques a succédé l'enthousiasme pour les découvertes anthropologiques ou archéologiques, la recherche positiviste étroitement liée aux données concrètes, aux textes, a essayé une première systhématisation, une typologie et, par l'étude comparée, la détermination d'archétypes ou tout au moins d'oecotypes. Cette première systématisation dont l'initiative revient à l'école finlandaise, et, le développement aux folkloristes des pays nordiques et en dernière instance

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à notre vénérable collègue, le professeur Stith Thompson, notre doyen d'âge que j'ai l'honneur de saluer parmi nous, a abouti à la taxonomie des narrations, un pas important dans leur recherche scientifique.

Le recherche concrète de terrain a intégré le fait littéraire dans le contexte ethnologique, et par cela a contribué à la connaissance du conte oral, dans sa forme native. La recherche de terrain nous a fait connaître le phénomène de la narration dans toutes ses implications. Elle a complété notre information par des données, donc sur les agents et sur l'action, mais avant tout sur la fonction que les communautés folkloriques attribuent aux différentes catégories de narrations.

Les nouvelles données obtenues par la taxonomie et par les recherches concrètes ont permis de nouvelles constructions théoriques dirigées cette fois-ci, non vers l'explication de l'origine et de la circulation des contes, mais vers la définition des catégories, vers la compréhension de leur essence.

C'est à ces problèmes qu'André Jolles a consacré son ouvrage "Einfache Formen"(Halle, 1929) considéré encore aujourd'hui comme un moment important dans le développement de nos recherches.

D'après lui les formes simples sont le résultat de la confrontation organisatrice de l'homme avec le monde. Le sujet de cette confrontation est la langue. Les catégories comprises sous la dénomination globale de "Einfache Formen" ne sont pas le simple reflet de certaines matrices dans le sens de l'application d'une poétique normative "Gestalten", elles prennent naissance naturellement. "Gleiches gesellt sich zu Gleichem, aber es bildete hier keine Haufen von Einzelheiten sondern eine Mannigfeltigkeit, deren Teile ineinander eindringen, sich vereinigen, verinnigen, und so ein Gestalt, eine Form ergeben, eine Form, die als solche gegenständlich erfasst werden kann, die, wie wir sagen, eigene Gültigkeit, eigene Bindigkeit besitzt

André Jolles essaye de trouver la voie par laquelle la langue arrive aux formes simples d'abord et puis à la littéra-

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ture. Sa problématique a été formulée comme suit par Hermann Bausinger: "wie wächst aus der Rede plötzlich, zwangsläufig, unvermeidlich eine bestimmte Gestalt; wie kommt es zu Gebilde, zu Formen, die zwar "einfach" sind aber eben doch geschlossen und autonom, zu Formen mit eigenen Gesetzen?"[3].

Les réponses à ces questions ont suivi deux voies: morphologique et psychologique.

La voie morphologique pour la définition de chaque catégorie de formes simples par rapport à leur fonction, et à leur thématique, a été suivie par André Jolles et par Honti János, dont les ouvrages écrits en hongrois sont peu connus.

Une année avant A. Jolles, V.I.Propp avait suivi la même voie dans son étude sur la morphologie des contes fantastiques russes "Morphologhiia Skazki" paru en 1925; Mais comme vous le savez, L'étude n'a réussi à être connue et à orienter les nouvelles recherches que 30 ans après, lorsqu'elle a été publié en traduction anglaise.

À la première question de A.Jolles, - le rapport entre la langue et les formes simples comme Gestalt, - P.G.Bogatyrev et R.Jakobson ont répondu la même année, en 1929 dans leur étude Die Folklore als besondere Form des Schaffens[4]. Du point de vue de l'interprète, l'oeuvre folklorique est un fait de langue, un fait extra-personnel. Donc, la manière dont la langue arrive aux Gestalts simples est le résultat d'un processus de grammaticalisation similaire à celui subi par la langue. La grammaire de la poésie dont parle R.Jakobson[5] ne ressort pas de la transposition des catégories de la langue sur le fait folklorique, donc pas d'une simple analyse du fait folklorique du point de vue linguistique, mais de l'étude de chaque catégorie folklorique comme système dans lequel les éléments pertinents corrèlent sur différents plans entre eux et aussi avec le tout, donc d'une analyse structuraliste.

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La grammaire des narrations est ainsi un système corrélé d'invariantes, d'éléments pertinents présents dans toutes les narrations de la même catégorie, mythe, saga, conte, anecdote et se trouve par rapport aux réalisations concrètes de ces systèmes, par rapport aux variantes de chaque narration dans la même relation que la langue ~ parole dans l'acception de F. de Saussure.

P.G. Bogatyrev et R.Jakobson montrent aussi que, tandis que l'oeuvre littéraire écrite a une existence concrète, qu'elle est objectivée et indépendante vis-à-vis du lecteur, L'oeuvre folklorique a une existence virtuelle dans le système de la catégorie à laquelle elle appartient et est objectivée chaque fois par l'interprète dans des formes variées. Donc, ici aussi, le même rapport Langue ~ parole.

Ces précisions sint importantes parce qu'elles situent dans une autre optique le rapport entre la narration comme fait littéraire et la narration comme phénomène ethnologique.

Pour A.Jolles, les formes simples sont un problème de morphologie et de phénoménologie. Elles restent dans les limites de la recherche littéraire. Mais, d'après K.Ranke, les formes simples posent aussi des problèmes de systématique, de différenciation spirituelle des catégories. Une catégorie avec le complexe de problèmes concernant son essence, exige bien plus qu'une analyse formelle. Son étude nous conduit vers la sociologie, vers l'ontologie des formes, donc vers une problématique ethnologique par excellence.

Bien que la narration populaire soit un fait littéraire, son étude nécessite une autre optique que l'étude d'une narration écrite. Les éléments de cette différenciation nous ont déjà été offerts par les recherches de terrain. Si on situe le problème dans la dicotonomie entre oral et écrit, avec toutes ses conséquences, cette différence est élucidée. La narra-

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tion populaire est rendue au contexte ethnologique par la reconnaissance même de son caractère profond formalisé, par ce qui dans le sens de P.G.Bogatyrev et R. Jakobson caractérise le système d'invariantes par rapport à ses diverses concrétisations.

Dans la post-face à la nouvelle édition russe de la Morphologie du conte de V.I.Propp, - une étude particulièrement précieuse parce qu'elle nous présente le stade actuel de la recherche structuraliste du conte avec son entière problématique tous les résultats obtenus et une bibliographie mise à jour, E.M.Meletinski montre que A. Jolles traite le conte comme monade indépendante, comme une forme de début qui apparaît directement des éléments intrinsèques de la langue. Il situe le conte au niveau des aspirations non-réalisées de l'homme vers un monde idéal[6]. Le mobile psychologique qui, des virtualités de la langue fait naître cette catégorie, ce "momentum generativum" est selon A. Jolles "die Geistesbeschäftigung" dans lequel K. Ranke voit à juste titre "der schöpferische Gemeingeist und schöpferische Gemeinseele" de l'idéologie romantique avec toute leur charge idéaliste. K. Ranke préférerait la nommer "Energeia", die schöpferische, seelische Grundkraft ins und hinter der Menschen"[7].

En déplaçant la discussion du plan psychologique sur le plan logique, Cl.Lévi-Strauss nomme "ésprit humait" cette force créatrice de toutes les représentations primaires.

Ce terme a été aussi, autrefois, chargé d'ambiguïtés et demande à être dépouillé de sa charge idéaliste et philosophique, d'une part, de sa charge réligieuse, de l'autre. Il est toutefois plus adéquat que "esprit collectif" ou "mentalité", - qui par leur caractère psychologique limitent l'explication objective.

Pour l'esprit humain, le monde apparait au début

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comme un conglomérat de qualités perçues empiriquement et qu'il est obligé de systématiser pour ne pas s'y égarer. En face de ce conglomérat, il lui est impossible de ne par ordonner. Donc, la systématisation des qualités et la création des représentations, dérive, comme l'a soupçonné aussi A. Jolles, d'un besoin d'ordre.

Elle est primaire et devance toute réflexion scientifique. Elle est le signe même de l'existence de l'homme comme homme. Cette nécessité d'ordonner développe un système logique que Cl.Lévi-Strauss nomme "la logique du sensible" ou "des qualités sensibles". Elle est intrinsèque à l'esprit humain et sa présence quasi-biologique n'implique pas une rupture entre l'homme et la nature, ni un détachement des représentations de leur contexte anthropologique, mais au contraire, une parfaite intégration[8]. La logique du sensible est une logique du concret. Cl.Lévi-Strauss montre dans "Le totémisme aujourd'hui", dans "La pensée sauvage" et dans "Morphologiques", que bien qu'elle ne fonctionne pas d'après les mêmes critères que notre logique, elle est très rigoureuse. Elle n'est inconsciente que dans le sens qu'elle n'a pas la conscience de sa propre connaissance[9].

Cela est avant tout la logique des mythes et des rites anciens. Dans ces coordonnées le rapport entre mythe et conte acquiert de nouveaux sens.

Dans le cadre des formes simples, le conte comme réalisation artistique émanent de la logique du sensible, se réalise lorsqu'il traduit en représentations verbales la structure commune de l'esprit et des choses. Il est le modèle réduit, homologue des choses, une véritable expérience humaine sur l'objet traité. Contrairement à ce que nous faisons lorsque nous essayons de connaître un objet dans sa dimension réelle, du particulier vers l'entier, dans le modèle réduit, la connaissance de l'entier précède la connaissance du particulier. Dans

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le modèle réduit, l'esthétique et l'intélligibilité sont liées. La vertu intrinsèque du modèle réduit est qu'il compense la renonciation à des dimensions sensibles par l'acquisition de dimensions intelligibles. Le conte comme réalité artistique se réalise par le renversement du procès de connaissance grâce à une réflexion sur le modèle réduit; grâce à l'acquisition des dimensions de l'intelligible par la renonciacion aux dimensions sensibles et par l'équilibre structure - événement[10].

Je ne crois pas qu'il soit nécessaire d'insister sur le fait que dans cette vision structuraliste de l'étude du conte comme réalité artistique globale, l'ancienne dispute sur le contenu et la forme et aussi ce que A. Jolles nommait Gestalt comme résultat de l'activité formative de la langue, perdent leur acuité.

J.M. Lotman montre que l'étude structuraliste repoussant l'examen isolé ou dans un ensemble mécaniquement constitué des faits littéreires, suppose l'investigation des corrélations entre les éléments et du rapport entre les éléments et l'entier. L'étude structuraliste est inséparablement liée à la recherche de la nature fonctionnelle du système et de ses éléments constituants. La structure étant un matériel sui generis l'examen s'effectue sur deux niveaux: physique et mathématique. Au niveau physique on investigue la nature matérielle des éléments, la langue, au niveau mathématique le rapport entre les éléments, la structure, faisant abstraction de la réalisation matérielle des éléments. Le structure nous apparaît ainsi comme un système de relations bien définies, comme un signe dont le sens demande à être déchiffré.

"Izučenie sticha kak struktury podrazumievaet sozdenie odinoj metodologii dlja rasmotrennija všeh storon poetičeskogo proizvedenija v ich edinostve. Na smenu iskustvenno protivopostvljemym ili razdeljenym "idejnomu analizu"; "analize formy",

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dolžno pridti issledovanie chudožestvennoj prirody literaturnogo tvorčestva, ischodjaščee iz organičevkoj svjazi vsedh staron izučaemogo javlanija"[11].

Dans sa méthode de recherche globale de l'oeuvre littéraire, I.M.Lotman utilise dans l'esprit interdisciplinaire, les principes de la linguistique moderne, des mathématiques, de la théorie des informations et de la sémiotique. Mais, pour lui, non plus, la recherche structuraliste de la littérature ne signifie pas l'application mécanique du structuralisme linguistique et ne suppose pas une restauration du formalisme.

La méthode préconisée par I.M. Lotman pour la recherche de la littérature en général peut être appliquée aussi à la recherche du conte, après en avoir clarifié sa nature spécifique et après avoir établi les coordonnées de la démarche.

Je me permets de nommer cette recherche "poétique" dans le sens accordé au terme par Valéry dans "De l'enseignement de la poétique au Collège de France "Le nom de poétique nous paraît lui convenir - dit Paul Valéry - en entendant ce mot selon son etymologie, c'est-à-dire comme nom de tout ce qui a trait à la création ou à la composition d'ouvrages dont le langage est à la fois la substance et le moyen - et point au sens restreint de recueil de règles ou de preceptes esthétiques concernant la poésie"[12],

Le conte, étant comme toute création littéraire , un discours, le but de la démarche structuraliste est de la connaître par l'intermède du code poétique. Mais, dans ce sens ainsi que l'a montré, Tv. Todorov : "Ce n'est pas l'oeuvre littéraire elle-même qui est l'objet de l'activité structurale. Ce que celle-ci interroge, ce sont les propriétés de ce discours particulier qu'est le discours littéraire. Toute oeuvre n'est alors considérée que comme la manifestation d'une structure abstraite beaucoup plus générale, dont elle n'est qu'une des réalisations possibles. C'est en cela que cette science se préoccupe non plus de la littérature réelle, mais de la littérature possible, en d'autres mots : de cette propriété abstraite qui fait la singularité du fait littéraire : la littéralité[13].

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On trouve le principe, ainsi que le terme, dans les études des formalistes russes. Tv. Todorov s'en sert lorsqu'il préconise pour la structure et le fonctionnement du discours littéraire une méthode qui permette d'élaborer le tableau de toutes les possibilités littéraires telles qu'elles apparaissent aujourd'hui dans les oeuvres littéraires écrites. But audacieux, lorsque l'on pense à la complexité du phénomène littéraire écrit, mais sans doute réalisable pour la littérature orale et dans notre cas, pour le conte, dont le caractère formalisé est évident[14] et à l'éclaircissement duquel on a déjà apporté d'importantes contributions.

Sans essayer une présentation des contributions apportées à la compréhension de la structure des contes, inutile d'ailleurs, étant en général connues, permettez-moi de rappeler à côté de l'ouvrage de V.I. Propp, qui a ouvert de nouvelles perspectives, les ouvrages de R. Jakobson, A. Stender-Pettersen et Th. A. Sebeok; les études de A. Dundes, G.M. Meletinski, I.L. Fischer et C.D. Serebrianin sur la structure compositionnelle des contes, les ouvrages de A. Greimas sur leur sémantique structurale et ceux de Ch. Brémont et Tv. Todorov sur le message narratif comme tel ; les études de V.V. Ivanov et V.N. Toprov sur le système de signes des narrations populaires, sur leur sémiotique[15].

Pour la connaissance du discours poétique comme littérarité, Tv. Todorov propose l'analyse de l'énoncé et de l'énonciation. Dans la recherche du conte les deux plans correspondent à l'analyse du fait littéraire et à l'analyse du contexte ethnologique, c'est-à-dire au phénomène de la narration, aux agents narrateurs et récepteurs et à l'action de reconter.

Sur le plan d'analyse du fait littéraire le discours, dans notre cas le conte, peut se référer à des faits qui dépassent la littérarité et appartiennent au domaine de la psychologie, de la sociologie ou de l'anthropologie. Mais pour le moment, il est utile de faire abstraction de ces références pour délimiter l'objectif, pour le définir et lui déterminer

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les lois. Par l'analyse de la littérarité on arrive à la connaissance du discours, du conte, comme signe par lui-même. Pour cela Tv.Todorov considère qu'il est nécessaire de déterminer de connaître la nature du discours, ses registres, puis la vision du narrateur sur les faits relatés, qui dans les contes ressort souvent non seulement du récit proprement dit mais aussi des commentaires du narrateur. Dans ce cas le plan de l'énoncé et le plan de l'énonciation interfèrent.

La recherche de la structure du texte, le chapitre le mieux étudié jusqu'à présent dans la poétique du conte, part de l'idée que tout discours peut être décomposé en unités minimales qui se trouvent dans différentes relations. Même lorsque les relations ne sont pas trouvées à l'état pur, elles se remarquent par leur caractère dominant et définissent ainsi une certaine catégorie du discours.

Dans les contes c'est la relation que Tv.Todorov nomme "La causalité évenementielle" qui domine. Un récit fondé sur l'ordre de causalité évenementielle met l'action sur la liaison des événements rapportés ; toutes les actions qui y apparaissent sont provoquées par des actions précédentes."[16]. La dominance de ce type de relation a été montrée tant par V.I. Propp que par Cl.Brémond et A.J.Greimas dans les études mentionnées.

Ce type de relations synthactiques entre les parties du conte peut être saisi sur plan synthagmatique tant au niveau de l'entier ou des grandes séquences correspondant aux phases de la langue, qu'au niveau des parties réduites, des propositions, des motiphèmes dans la terminologie de A.Dundes. Les éléments se groupant entre eux aussi en faisceaux de relations, donnent les règles d'organisation morphologique du conte, son modèle paradigmatique.

Dans l'analyse structurale du discours littéraire Tv.Todorov tient compte de l'ordre temporaire et de l'ordre spatial qui deviennent eux aussi déf[illegible]teurs pour le conte

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oral. En partant de l'ouvrage de A.Jolles, Tv.Todorov discute le mode optatif dans lequel le conte comme discours littéraire se réalise, contrairement aux modes des autres formes simples[17].

Sans épuiser le problème de l'analyse poétique du discours littéraire, Tv.Todorov propose, comme vous le voyez, de nouveaux éléments d'analyse, qui peuvent contribuer à contourner la grammaire du conte.

Dans un ouvrage récent, consacré aux narrations d'un grand écrivain, William Faulkner, Sorin Alexandrescu propose aussi certaines démarches analytiques qui transposées sur le conte pourraient intégrer les éléments de sa grammaire. Sorin Alexandrescu analyse la structure typologique des civilisations et la typologie des personnages, de même que la manière du narrateur d'aborder les événements épiques, les différentes modalités de les relater : le rapport entre le plan objectif et subjectif, entre le réel et le fantastique, etc. et l'organisation de la narration en simultanéité ou succession[18]. En relevant ses démarches, je veux remarquer que la grammaire de la poésie, dans notre cas la grammaire du conte, qui lorsque Roman Jakobson l'a énoncée semblait une utopie, tend à se constituer graduellement[19].

Elle signifiera dans notre domaine, sans doute, un pas décisif pour maîtriser la multitude du matériel avec lequel nous travaillons aujourd'hui. Elle conduira à une nouvelle systématisation et à une typologie structurale basée sur les modèles exprimés en formules. Mais, plus encore, réduisant les variantes aux pertinences, elle nous permettra de définir les caractères essentiels du genre, de le comprendre dans sa totalité, non seulement par l'intuition de certains aspects, mais par la connaissance scientifique du système, de la logique qui gouverne ses représentations. Dans ce sens, l'essai que fait notre collègue G.M. Meletinski d'arriver par un processus de formalisation à quelques modèles valables pour tous les contes et par cela à une nouvelle typologie du genre, équivaut

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aux premiers pas vers le métalangage de la narration fantastique[20].

La découverte des lois de la catégorie placera la recherche du conte au rang des investigations nomothétiques et la recherche du rapport signe-signification au rang des investigations sémiotiques.

La nature du genre fait que le problème de la recherche du sens soit tout aussi important que celui de la recherche du modèle.

Ce n'est que par cette recherche que nous arriverons à connaître d'une manière scientifique la signification du système de signes des contes. Ce chapitre des démarches modernes pour la connaissance la plus complète des objectifs de notre discipline sera traité cet après midi par notre éminent collègue Th.A. Sebeok. Je n'ai fait que le mentionner, afin qu'il soit présent dans cette esquisse de la recherche poétique du conte.

La recherche poétique est par excellence synchronique. Dans l'ordre de la démarche, elle devance la recherche diachronique. Donc, ce n'est qu'après avoir connu, sur le plan synchronique, toutes les implications des faits, nous pourrons passer à des considérations qui visent la diachronie, et peut-être essayer de nouveau de répondre aux questions posées au début par nos précurseurs sur l'origine et la circulation des contes.

La démarche poétique préconisée ne vise pas à une simple description du conte comme objet unique et final, comme construction verbale en soi et pour soi, mais le considère une représentation à multiples valences. Après être arrivés à connaître sa structure et sa signification nous pourrons la réintégrer dans la recherche, ce que pour la délimitation stricte de l'objet nous avons exclu, et nous apprendrons ce que le conte nous communique par l'intermédiaire du code poétique, en tant qu'information philosophique, psychologique, sociologique et en

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général anthropologique au sens le plus large du mot.

Nous ramènerons donc le conte, dans le contexte culturel général où il vit et par des recherches interdisciplinaires nous pourrons en obtenir toutes les informations qu'il détient. Nous pourrons détacher les lois qui le gouvernent comme fait littéraire oral mais aussi celles par lesquelles il se relie aux grands contextes culturels.

Photo 4, 5: Kurt Ranke (ISFNR's president) in the plennary session (FL 1913/24, 25).

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NOTES

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Kurt Ranke 1

ASSOZIATIONSPHÄNOMENE DER VOLKSPROSA

Vortrag, gehalten auf dem 5. Kongress der Society for Folk-Narrative Research in Bukarest am 26.8.1969.

Das Suchen nach den Gesetzmäßigkeiten innerhalb unserer Erscheinungswelt ist das legitime Anliegen der Wissenschaft. Auch in unserem speziellen Forschungsbereich nehmen die Probleme der Kausalitäten und Relationen, soweit sie eben und vor allem obligater und legaler Natur sind, einen breiten Raum ein. Ich denke da z.B. an die bereits erarbeiteten Erkenntnisse über die Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Selbstberichtigung oder die der Entfaltung, der Affinität, der Assimilation der Formen, Typen und Motive, die der Struktur- und Stilphänomene, der Kontinuitäts- und Diffusionsprozesse usw. Wir stehen heute also bereits vor einer stattlichen Summe von Einsichten in diese legalen Vorgänge, die dem volkstümlichen Erzählgut der Menschheit Leben und Form verleihen.

Ich möchte heute zu Ihnen über ein Problem sprechen, das in den Bereich der Fragen nach den schöpferischen und gestaltenden Kräften gehört, die hinter den verschiedenen Formen der Volkserzählungen stehen. Ich bin mir dabei durchaus bewußt, daß diese Fragen schon so oft strapaziert worden sind, daß sich heute eine heftige Aversion gegen sie entwickelt hat. Dennoch steht, so meine ich, das Problem der genetischen Potenzen noch immer inter pares und unübersehbar im Raum neben den Fragen nach den funktionalen, sozialen, epochalen oder regionalen Bedingtheiten unseres Erzählgutes.

Betrachtet man die geistigen Produktionsvorgänge im Menschen, so wird man leicht zwischen den rational reflektierenden und den emotional oder assoziativ gesteuerten unterscheiden können. Assoziatives Denken, Schaffen und Verhalten orientiert sich nicht nach logischen Denkprozessen und Erfahrungen, sondern entspringt einer Geistesbeschäftigung, die von Empfindungen,

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Gefühlen, von den unbewußten Bildern des psychischen Bereiches, von den spielerisch angebotenen Phänomenähnlichkeiten oder von den unkontrollierten Gedankenbildungen geleitet und geprägt wird. Beide Denk- und Bildungsbereiche sind in jedem Menschen vorhanden, bei dem einen mag das logische, bei dem andern das assoziative Denken überwiegen. Es ist also keinerlei positive oder negative Bewertung mit diesem Aufteilungsprinzip verbunden, geschweige denn, daß an eine psychomentale Parallelität zu den mehr oder minder berüchtigten sozialen oder soziologischen Zweischichtentheorien aus den ersten Dezennien unseres Jahrhunderts zu denken sei, zumal ja auch ganz offensichtlich die großen Bereiche des künstlerischen Schaffens, gleichgültig welcher Kategorie, ihre Hauptimpulse aus dem assoziativen Denk- und Vorstellungsbereich empfangen.

x) Als Erzeugnisse des menschlichen Geistes unterliegen nun auch die Volkserzählungen in mannigfacher Hinsicht den Gesetzmäßigkeiten des assoziativen Denkens, und zwar in einem weit größeren Umfange, als man das bisher bewußt gemacht hat. Auch hier also erweisen sich die Analogien als mächtige, schöpferische Impulse. Das gilt z.B. für die meisten der eben genannten Gesetzmäßigkeiten. Mein verehrter Freund, Professor Max Lüthi, hat vor drei Jahren auf der Prager Arbeitstagung unserer Society über das Problem von Urform und Zielform in Sage und Märchen gesprochen, und er hat die bemerkenswerte Feststellung getroffen, daß sich in jedem sprachlichen Gebilde die Macht der Sprachsituation auswirke. Wörtlich sagte er: "In den Worten und Wortgruppen, in den Stoffpartikeln und Motiven der sprachlichen Gebilde sind eine Unzahl von Strebungen enthalten, die nach Verwirklichung zielen." Und an anderer Stelle heißt es: "Die psychologische Märchenforschung glaubt, daß aus analogen psychischen Erlebnissen und Abläufen, wie sie sich überall und zu allen Zeiten einstellen, weil sie zum Menschen als solchem gehören, auch analoge Erzählungen hervorgehen. Auf der Seite der soziologischen Forschung postuliert Schirmunski, daß bei gleichartigen gesellschaftlichen Voraussetzungen je ähnliche Erzählungen entstehen, Erzählungen also, die, obwohl genetisch keine Beziehungen zwischen ihnen bestehen, doch typologisch

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verwandt sind. Wir, d.h. Lüthi, sind der Meinung, daß beide Positionen, die psychologische wie die soziologische, wichtige Bausteine zur Erklärung der Vorgänge beitragen, daß sie allein aber nicht genügen. Es kommt dazu die Eigenbewegung der Stoffe, die Zielkräfte der Sachen, Worte, Motive und Themen."
Diese Zielkräfte exemplifiziert Lüthi unter anderem an dem hübschen Beispiel vom Rigilied, in dessen ursprünglicher, literarischer Fassung es in hochdeutscher Übersetzung heißt: Man fährt ja lieber über den See, um die schönen Mädchen zu sehen. Das Lied wurde volkstümlich, und da die Menschen um den Vierwaldstättersee sicher nicht nur auf den See fuhren, um schöne Mädchen, sondern vor allem doch wohl auch, um die Fische zu beobachten, provozierte in der volkstümlichen Tradierung des Liedes das Wort See nun die natürlichere Assoziation Fische, und in der Folge fährt man nun also über den See, um die schönen Fischlein zu sehen. Was ist hier vor sich gegangen? Lüthi interpretiert es selber: Das in der unbrauchbaren ursprünglichen Fassung enthaltene Reimwort See treibt aus sich heraus assoziativ die Vorstellung Fischlein heraus, und in dieser Richtung wird nun die Strophe zurechtgesungen. Ein eklatanter Fall also assoziativen Umstilisierens. Nur möchte ich stärker, als das Professor Lüthi tut, das Genetische dieses Modifikationsprozesses in den tradierenden Menschen selbst verlegen. Die Zielkraft des Wortes See ist nur initiativ, das assoziative Geschehen und seine provozierte neue Wortwendung liegt im menschlichen Schaffensprozeß begründet.
Es ist nur eine leichte Nuancierung, die mich von Lüthis Interpretation unterscheidet, aber sie liegt in der Richtung, die ich schon häufiger angesprochen habe, daß wir nämlich allzuoft und allzuleicht über den Stoff selbst und seinem nicht zu negierenden Eigenleben den Menschen vergessen, der ihn geschaffen und ihm das Gesicht und die Form gegeben hat, daß also alle Form und Struktur nur den Geist des schaffenden Menschen, in unserem Falle also des assoziativ schaffenden Menschen offenbaren. Der Zielpunkt, um den Lüthischen Terminus etwas zu modifizieren, der Zielpunkt meiner kleinen Replik ist vor allem die Autonomisierung von Sprache und Sprachgebärde durch André Jolles. Wenn Alfred Schossig, der Schüler

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von Jolles, dessen neuromantische Interpretation der Einfachen Formen als sich in der Sprache selbständig bekundende und vollendende Geistesbeschäftigung mit der Interpretation: Besitzergreifung, occupatio des Menschen durch den Geist der Legende, der Sage oder Mythe versieht, so wird damit alles sprachliche Schaffen verabsolutiert und hinter den Menschen situiert. Nichts anderes aber haben eben schon die Romantiker getan, nach denen die Volksdichtung, ich zitierte: "aus der stillen Kraft des Ganzen leise emporgetrieben wird, die Volkslieder z.B. sozusagen von selber an- und fortgesungen werden". "Über die Art, wie das zugegangen," sagt Jacob Grimm einmal, "liegt der Schleier des Geheimnisses gedeckt, an das man glauben soll." Dieses "sich von selber machen" hat Lüthi dann in dem genannten Aufsatz entmythologisiert, indem er zwar ein Kollektivschaffen apperzipiert, dieses aber dem klar überschaubaren Spannungsfeld zwischen Erzähler und Zuhörerschaft zuweist. Daß gerade in diesem Bereich das assoziative Schaffen eine dominante Rolle spielt, liegt auf der Hand.

Aber kehren wir noch einmal zur provozierten Assoziation als schöpferischem Prinzip in der Volksdichtung zurück. In den meisten Gattungen sind diese Vorgänge ganz evident. Ein Paradebeispiel für die religiöse Dichtung ist etwa die Legende vom Heiligen Erasmus, der im Jahre 303 in Formiae zwischen Rom und Neapel in Öl gesotten wurde und diese Prozedur nicht überstand. Dieser Heilige wurde zunächst in den Hafenstädten und Küstengebieten des Mittelmeers und auf den Inseln, namentlich in Sizilien, verehrt und war Patron der Seeleute, die nach ihm (Ermo, Elmo sind italienische Diminutivformen von Erasmus) die an den Spitzen der Schiffsmasten beobachteten Lichterscheinungen Elmsfeuer oder St. Elmsfeuer nannten und die ihm die Schiffswinde mit dem um sie gewickelten Ankertau als Attribut gaben. Als sich die Verehrung des Heiligen Erasmus in die nördlichen Binnenländer ausbreitete, kam es dazu, daß man dieses Attribut nicht mehr verstand. Ankertauwinden sind im Binnenland unbekannt. Da man aber gemeinhin den Heiligen ihre Marterwerkzeuge als Attribut verlieh, provozierte die rätselhafte Schiffswinde nun assoziativ die glorreiche Erfindung

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der Darmhaspel. Dem Heiligen waren also fortan in der Marter die Därme mit einer Haspel aus dem Leib gewunden worden. Wegen dieses Gerätes aber wurde er nun wieder in assoziativer Analogie zum Patron der Drechsler, die diese Werkzeuge ja herstellen. Aber damit nicht genug: Da man ihn am Unterleib gequält hatte, wurde der Heilige nun zum Patron für Unterleibsleiden, für Darmkolik, Geburtsschmerzen usw. Ein assoziativ bedingter Umgestaltungsprozess reiht sich in der Geschichte dieser Legende also an den andern und das Ende ist eine vollkommen neue Vita des Heiligen. Das ist beileibe kein Einzelfall. Gerade für die auch von Lüthi angesprochene Zielkraft des Wortes oder Namens bietet die Legende zahllose Beispiele, die natürlich oft auf Grund lokalsprachlicher Assoziationen im regionalen Raum stecken bleiben. Der Heilige Blasius etwa konnte nur im deutschen Sprachbereich auf Grund der Lautähnlichkeit seines Namens mit dem deutschen Wort blasen zum Schutzheiligen bei Blasenkrankheiten, aber auch zum Patron der Blasmusiker oder gar zu dem der Windmüller werden, die ja auch vom Blasen des Windes leben, wie umgekehrt nur die französischen Spediteure und neuerdings ebendort die Lastentaxifahrer sich assoziativ einen Heiligen Expeditus zulegen konnten, den es kanonisch gar nicht gibt. Immer aber sind auf Grund dieser sprachlichen Assoziationen die hübschesten Geschichten erdacht worden. Ein besonders reizvolles Beispiel für solche genetische Assoziation bietet auch die Sage vom Dronninghoi, einem Grabhügel in der Nähe von Schleswig, im Norden also von Deutschland, der in die Wende von der Stein- zur Bronzezeit zurückdatiert werden kann. Von ihm erzählt eine schon 1634 von Paulus Cypraeus aufgezeichnete und dann um 1840 in etwas erweiterter Form von K. Müllenhoff wiedergegebene Sage folgendes: Am Deckerkruge bei Schuby, in der Nähe der Lohheide bei Schleswig, ist ein kleiner Hügel, den man den Dronninghoi nennt. Er ist von Soldaten aufgeworfen, indem sie die Erde in ihren Helmen zusammentrugen. Hier hat die Schwarze Margret, also jene Königin Margareta von Dänemark, die im 14. und 15. Jh. die Reiche Dänemark, Norwegen und Schweden unter ihrer Herrschaft vereinte, einmal einen Fürsten erschlagen. Sie hatte

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Krieg mit ihm, aber da sie sah, daß es ihr nicht gut gehen werde, schickte die listige Frau zu ihm und ließ ihm sagen, daß es doch unrecht wäre, daß so viele tapfere Leute um ihretwillen sterben sollten; besser wäre es, daß sie und er allein den Streit ausmachten. Der Fürst dachte, mit der Frau wohl auszukommen und nahm das Anerbieten an. Als sie nun miteinander fochten, sagte die Königin zu ihm, er möchte ihr doch einen Augenblick Zeit geben, sie wolle nur ihre Sturmhaube, wie man sie damals trug, ein wenig fester binden. Der Fürst erlaubte ihr das; sie aber sagte, daß sie ihm doch nicht trauen dürfe, wenn er nicht sein Schwert bis an die Parierstange in den Grund stecke. Auch das tat der Prinz. Aber da ging sie auf ihn los und schlug ihm den Kopf ab. Er ist im Dronninghoi begraben. Nicht das naheliegende cherchez la femme soll uns hier interessieren, sondern der Grabungsbericht aus dem Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts. Danach fand man in dem Hügel ein Skelett, dem der Schädel zu Füßen lag. Eine Bestätigung des Sagenkerns also über drei Jahrtausende hinweg. Aber 60 cm daneben fand sich ein weiteres, diesmal unversehrtes Skelett. Und nun geschieht etwas Merkwürdiges. Die Kunde von dem Fund verbreitete sich rasch in der Gegend, und bald hatte man im assoziativen Analogieschluß die Erklärung der zweiten Leiche gefunden, die als die der Königin Margareta gedeutet wurde. Es hieß, sie habe aus Reue über ihre Tat angeordnet, nach ihrem Tode an der Seite des Fürsten bestattet zu werden, und ihr Wunsch sei erfüllt worden. Ein über 3000 Jahre altes Memorat provoziert in kürzester Zeit assoziativ aus der Darstellung seines Geschehens heraus eine zweite Sage, die nun einträchtig im Raum neben der älteren steht.

Eine ~~große~~ bedeutende Gruppe assoziativ erzeugter Erzählgebilde sind auch die Aitiologien, Geschichten also, in denen der Mensch die Fragen nach dem Warum und Woher der Dinge praewissenschaftlich und fabulierend zu beantworten versucht. Märlein dieser Art gehören zum ältesten und weitest verbreiteten Erzählgut der Völker. Einen großen Raum nehmen die naturdeutenden Sagen ein. Die roten Augen der Kröte ihre fordern eine Erklärung, und assoziativ stellt sich das Geschichtchen ein, daß sie sich

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aus Trauer über eine Beleidigung ihre Augen rot geweint habe. In Indien wurde die Deutung von der Wanderung der Wolken erdacht, die früher die Flügel der Berge gewesen seien. Da diese jedoch mit ihrer Hilfe überall hingewandert seien und so die ganze Welt in Aufruhr gebracht hätten, seien ihnen von den Göttern die Flügel abgenommen. Diese aber können ihre alte Zusammengehörigkeit nicht vergessen und so treibt sie die Sehnsucht immer wieder zu den Gipfeln. Das ist, so meine ich, eine hübsche assoziative Deutung des Zusammenhanges von Berg und Wolke. Aus ähnlichen Assoziationen entstanden, um nur noch ein paar Beispiele aus diesem großen Fabulierbereich zu bringen, die Erklärung der Mondflecken als eines in den Mond versetzten Menschen oder Tieres, die des Sturmes als wilder Jagd, des Donners als rollenden Wagens, des Angst- und Alpdruckerlebnisses als Aufhockers Ephialtes oder Vampirs usw.

Das besondere Beobachtungsfeld der psychoanalytischen Forschungsrichtung innerhalb unserer Spezialwissenschaft sind die in Erzählung umgesetzten Traumassoziationen. Für C.G. Jung manifestieren sich die unbewußten, assoziativ im Menschen erzeugten Vorstellungen bzw. die Wechselwirkungen zwischen Bewußtsein und Unbewußtsein ebenso in den Urbildern des Traumes wie in denen der Einfachen Formen. Das ist natürlich nichts Neues. Auf die Zusammenhänge zwischen Traum und Erzählung haben schon Generationen von Forschern hingewiesen, so etwa Friedrich von der Leyen in seinem bekannten Buch: Das Märchen. Er glaubt, daß z.B. die immer wiederholten aber erfolglosen Versuche der Danaiden, des Sisyphos und Tantalos, des Mädchens im Blaubartmärchen, das das Blut vom Schlüssel nicht entfernen kann, ebenso wie die unlösbaren Fragen und Rätsel der Sphinx oder der Prinzessin Turandot oder die undurchführbaren Aufgaben, die dem Helden gestellt werden, etwa schwarze Wolle weiß zu waschen, auf Traumassoziationen zurückzuführen sind. Sicher sind auch ganze Erzählkomplexe wie etwa die von der Täuschung der Zeit oder, wie man auch sagt, vom Traum als Leben, solche Visions- oder Traumassoziationen, so jene berühmte orientalische Geschichte vom

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Scheich Schehabbedin, der nur einen ganz kurzen Augenblick seinen Kopf in eine Schüssel mit Wasser taucht. Als er ihn wieder heraushebt, meint er, am Meeresufer an einem öden Strand geweilt zu haben, in einer Stadt gewesen zu sein, vermählt mit einer schönen Frau, die ihm sieben Kinder schenkte, dann war er wieder arm, wurde ein Lastträger, kam an den gleichen Strand zurück und erwachte.

Die aus dem menschlichen Denk- und Gefühlsleben erwachsenden Assoziationen erweisen sich also ebenso wie die des Traumgeschehens oder der visionären Erlebnisbereiche für den gesamten Komplex der Volkserzählungen als momenta generativa von nicht zu übersehender Bedeutung. Aber auch das weite Feld der sogenannten Affinitäten, über die bereits 1959 Professor Gyula Ortutay auf dem Kieler Kongreß sprach, ist nur durch das Assoziationsprinzip zu erklären. Auch Max Lüthi spricht vom Einfluß ähnlicher Erzählungen aufeinander. und er erwähnt den Drachenkampf, auf den alles Heldenleben zielt. Das heißt also, heroische Aktivität fordert assoziativ die Verbindung mit dem Drachenkampf als ein ihr im Märchen, im Epos oder in der Legende zustehender Beweis ihrer selbst. Das gleiche gilt für ähnliche Affinitäten. Der Ritt auf den Glasberg, die Suche nach dem Lebenswasser, der Gang in die Unterwelt, sind solche heroischen Taten, die von bestimmten Situationen assoziativ gefordert werden. Inhaltlich oder gehaltlich gleich gelagerte Erzählungen ziehen daher magnetisch diese Wandermotive an, verwenden sie strukturell zum Ausbau ihres Geschehens und werden dadurch ähnlich. Auch Strukturen sind also zu einem sicher nicht unbeträchtlichen Teil assoziativ bestimmt.

Sicher wären noch viele gesetzmäßige Erscheinungen etwa aus dem ontologischen, biologischen oder phänomenologischen Bereichen der volkstümlichen Prosadichtung als assoziativ determiniert anzusprechen, so etwa das Prinzip der Variation. Gerade hier, wo ein Motiv, ein Grundgedanke assoziativ gleiche oder ähnliche Bilder erzeugen kann, wäre genügend Beweismaterial für diese Prozesse anzuführen. Ich kann der bemessenen Zeit wegen nicht weiter darauf eingehen. Ich möchte nur folgendes noch zu bedenken geben.

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Meine Ausführungen sollten keineswegs den Eindruck erwecken, als sei nun das Assoziationsgesetz,so wie ich es an ein paar Beispielen evident machen konnte,das alleinige genetische oder umbildende Prinzip.Es ist sicher nur eine von mehreren Möglich= keiten,die dem schöpferischen Geist des Menschen gegeben sind. Es ist vielleicht auch noch nicht einmal für alle Gattungen der Volksprosa verbindlich.Schwank,Witz,Parodie usw.sind wohl mehr rational und intellektuell angelegte Geisteserzeugnisse,wenn sich auch hier manche Verzahnungsgebiete feststellen lassen,so v vor allem,wenn sie als sogenannte Schwundstufe Protestformen gegen die auf die Dauer unerträglichen Gewalten etwa der Religio der Pietas,der Humanitas oder der Societas darstellen.Hier han= delt es sich sicher um einen tief im Menschlichen begründeten psychischen Vorgang,um Assoziationen durch Gegensatz,wie Adolf Bach das einmal genannt hat.Aber die Durchführung dieser Pro= teste zur neuen Form findet wohl immer im Bereich des intellek= tuellen Denkens statt und verbunden sind diese Vorgänge ebenso fast immer mit der Überführung des Primärstoffes in eine andere Kategorie.Das Legendenthema z.B.vom Heiligen,der auf einem Son= nenstrahl gen Himmel steigt,wird im modernen Witz dahin parodier daß der zu gleichem Tun Aufgeforderte sich weigert: "Dann machst du die Fensterläden zu,und ich fall herunter".Die tiefsinnige Parabel vom Schatz im Weinberg wird in okkupierten Ländern zu folgendem Schwank umgeformt:Ein Mann will seinen Garten umgra= ben,hat aber keine Lust dazu.Er macht Meldung an die Besatzungs= truppen,es seien Waffen dort verborgen.Ein Haufe Soldaten kommt und gräbt Tag und Nacht den Garten um,ohne etwas zu finden.Der Mann braucht zum Schluß nur noch zu harken.Oder zum Schluß die Umsetzung des schönen Märchens vom Froschkönig in folgenden Schwank,der zuerst in Dänemark aufgezeichnet wurde,mir aber auch aus Deutschland bekannt ist: Es war einmal ein Mann,der kam eines Abends spät nach Hause,während seine Frau gerade auf einer Reise war,und da fand er einen kleinen Frosch auf der Matte vor seiner Haustür sitzen.Es war ein sehr hübscher kleiner Frosch.Er konnte auch sprechen.Er sagte:"Ich bin in Wirklichkeit ein schönes,jun= ges Mädchen,das durch Zauberei in einen Frosch verwandelt wurde, aber wenn ich ins Bett gelegt werden,wird der Zauber aufgehoben. Der Mann war natürlich ziemlich erstaunt,aber da er dem armen Frosch helfen wollte,nahm er ihn mit hinein und setzte ihn in sein Bett.Und tatsächlich verwandelte sich der Frosch in ein ent= zückendes junges Mädchen.Gerade da aber kehrte die Frau des Man= nes zurück,und - ob du's glaubst oder nicht - sie wollte ihm die= se Gschichte nicht abnehmen.

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Aber genug von diesen Umsetzungsprozessen, die auch nur noch am Rande unseres eigentlichen Beobachtungsfeldes liegen, wenn auch, und ich betone das noch einmal, die sie provozierenden Antriebe in tiefer gelagerten, psychischen Schichten zu suchen sind. Als Protestformen werden sie, wie im übrigen auch viele der sozial= kritisch tendierten Erzählgebilde, ihre ersten Impulse wohl den sogenannten Emotionalassoziationen zu verdanken haben. Ihre Aus= formung geschieht dann auf anderen Ebenen.

Und zum letzten möchte ich zu bedenken geben, daß Assoziationen keineswegs etwas für die Volksprosa Spezifisches sind, daß sie sich vielmehr in allen Bereichen menschlichen Denkens, Verhaltens und Schaffens finden lassen, im Volksglauben, im Brauchtum, in den täglichen Umgangsformen, in den künstlerischen Betätigungen usw. Sie sind also ganz gewiß anthropologischer Natur, ein Teil der gemeinmenschlichen Denk- und Schaffensprozesse. Daß an ihnen die Einfachen Formen des Erzählgutes partizipieren, und zwar, wie ich eingangs sagte, in einem weit erheblicheren Maße, als uns das bisher deutlich geworden war, das in ein paar, das Problem nur anreißenden Sätzen zu zeigen, war der Sinn meiner kurzen Ausführungen. Ich danke Ihnen für Ihre liebenswürdige Aufmerksamkeit.

(The following paper slip contains a fragment meant to be inserted on the 2nd page of the article, where there is a cross mark inserted)

Schon 1907 hat der deutsche Germanist und Folklorist Eugen Mogk in einem Aufsatz über „Wesen und Aufgabe der Volkskunde" in der Psycho= logie des Denkens die Antwort auf die Frage nach dem eigentlichen Gegenstand der Volkskunde zu finden versucht. Diese Wissenschaft be= fasse sich mit allen jenen Erscheinungen, in denen sich die assozia= tive Denkweise manifestiere, mit allen jenen Gebilden also, die, ich zitiere: "durch psychische Assoziationen entstanden und durch diese fortgepflanzt bzw. verändert worden sind". Das ist sicher zu einseitig gesehen, aber es ist doch, als Beobachtung von Teilerscheinungen der geistigen Prozesse, ein Programm, das z.B. auch Carl Wilhelm von Sydow aufgriff, der bei der Forderung nach psychologischer Durchdringung des ethnologischen Materials von Emotionalprozessen als wichtigen genetischen Elementen sprach. Albert Eskeröd schließlich hat in sei= nem grundlegenden Werk Årets äring (1947), die, ich zitiere: "emotional betonten, konativen, d.h. also assoziativen Kräfte des menschlichen Seelenlebens, die ergeben, daß gewisse Vorstellungskomplexe und damit gewisse Traditionskomplexe aktueller als andere und damit präsenter sind, Interessendominanten" genannt. Diese Interessendominanten sind al so ebenfalls zu einem gut Teil assoziativ determiniert.

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Prof. Lauri Honko, University of Turku, Finland

On the Principles of Genre Analysis (GA)

The starting point of GA. When I call your attention to what can be labelled 'genre analysis' it may be appropriate to mention the German equivalent which could be 'Gattungsanalyse'. Two other words have been frequently used in this connection, namely, 'categories of tradition' (or 'Kategorienforschung') and 'morphology of tradition' (or 'Traditionsmorphologie'). The starting point in genre analysis is the idea that oral tradition is not a uniform mass as far as its nature and information value are concerned; that it is possible, on the basis of various criteria to differentiate, at least in principle, clear-cut genres. Let us recall C.W. von Sydow's manifesto: "Die verschiedenen Überlieferungsarten unterstehen völlig verschiedenen Gesetzen, und ohne Vertrautheit mit dem System der Überlieferung, dem gegenseitigen Verhältnis und den ungleichen Lebensbedingungen der verschiedenen Kategorien usw. kann man zu keinen zuverlässigen Forschungsergebnissen gelangen. Viele wissenschaftlichen Fehlgriffe, die lange Zeit die Forschung am Fortschritt hinderten, sind gerade durch den Mangel an Einblick in die Kategorien und das Unvermögen sie gründlich zu scheiden, veranlasst." At this stage, that is to say in 1934, von Sydow's polemics were directed for the most part against folklorists. But as time went on scientists of religion came in for their share of criticism; one remembers how von Sydow, especially with the help of his fict-theory, tried to slander a whole group of scholars from Wilhelm Mannhardt to Martin P:n Nilsson by implying that they were gullible idiots. I quote from an article which was published in 1941: "The school of Comparative Religion is thus incapable of seeing independently which categories of tradition are of importance for the study of religion and which have nothing to do with religion at all; they have contended themselves, in good faith, with the material prepared by former scholarship, and have now and then added some detail which might seem relevant. Reliable scientific work in the field of primitive religion presupposes broadly based studies of popular tradition and a thorough knowledge of all its several categories." Although von Sydow's criticism took hybrid forms and was at times one-sided and harsh, it is still basically sound even to-day. It is an unfortunate fact that it did not in its own time bring about any fruitful co-operation between folklorists and scientists of religion. One reason for this may have been von Sydow's aggressiveness and his ignorance of religious phenomena: he often gave over-simplified psychological explanations (e.g. "man as the victim of his hallucinations") and he hardly understood much about the social function of myth. He was more interested in the by-products of myth and he over-emphasized the part played by fantasy,

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jest and poesy in oral tradition. After listening to him non-folkloristic students of religion were scared of approaching poetry and stylized mythological material. The positive impact which genre analysis could have had was drowned in academic debates between folklorists and students of comparative religion.

The function of GA in folkloristics. Leaving negative criticism aside we may say that genre analysis is meaningful both for folkloristic and religio-scientific studies though its position and its functions are not the same in these two disciplines. The aim of genre analysis in folkloristics is the thorough classification of the whole material of oral tradition. One attempts to create a system which would in principle make it possible to recognize any tradition material, name it and situate it in a section containing corresponding products of tradition. The very possibility of doing this is a question in itself. It is in any case clear that the need for a scientific genre system exists and this need cannot be satisfied by those different systems having a practical aim to which recourse has been had in archiving tradition. The object of these systems is to make it possible to locate an item in a collection and beyond this there is no need to be systematic. They have the further disadvantage of being rapidly made 'ready' (= no further change possible) - otherwise, indeed, one could not use them. It is of the very nature of a scientific genre system that it will never be definitive. As research goes on new distinctions are constantly made, new genres are discovered and the scholar must be granted the liberty of naming and grouping material according to the situation in contemporary scholarship in the most practical way. A scientific genre system may notwithstanding render a great service to scholarly communication, teaching etc., provided that its basic structure is generally known and accepted. Whether or not folkloristics has in practice a satisfactory genre system (or its basic structure) is a question open for discussion.

The function of GA in comparative religion. In the science of religion the task of genre studies is more restricted than in folkloristics, but nevertheless very important. A scientist of religion working with oral tradition material is not primarily interested in the creation of the most perfect possible genre system. To him, genre analysis is an aid to source criticism and he uses it in order to determine the significance and source value of different types of traditional material - folk tales, legends, charms, rite descriptions - in the study of religious phenomena. It is centrally necessary to determine to what extent information material included in different genres is the object of serious belief on the part of the members of a given society, and to what extent it influences religious behaviour. The problem is serious if the cultural milieu under study is extremely 'different' and 'foreign'. Then the scholar's own experience-

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models and frames of reference are inadequate and his initial knowledge of the functional background of the religious tradition may be scant. At this point there is danger of comic mistakes: a scholar may for instance take seriously some supernatural beings which for the bearers of tradition are clearly fictive to their nature and aimed to scare children, or simply to amuse etc. Source criticism, however, obliges us to study among other things the question in which genres the supernatural beings appear and in which not. We must be aware of the genre properties, function and expression technique of myth, legend, charm, prayer, memorate, rite description etc. Approximately similar verbal statements may have widely differing religious meanings according to the genre they belong to. The problematics facing the scientist of religion vis á vis the oral tradition are not necessarily any simpler than those facing the folklorist. They are more restricted, however, because several genres remain outside their sphere of interest. The scientist of religion generally gets along with fewer terms.

The present situation of GA. In the Anglo-Saxon world the borderland between folkloristics and comparative religion is dominated by the studies of cultural or social anthropologists. The position of genre analysis in cultural anthropology is not of the strongest. American students in this discipline learn next to nothing about genre analysis, because even the best textbooks dismiss the matter in a sentence or two. "An Introduction to Anthropology" by Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijer (1959) provides the following list of terms: song, myth, legend, proverb, pun; the concept 'tale' is left very vague. Leaving the numerous unsatisfactory textbooks aside I refer as a most sensational example of the situation in genre analysis to J.L. Fischer's article in Current Anthropology in June 1963 with the title "The Sociopsychological Analysis of Folktales" and with comments by 17 scholars. Fischer uses the term "folktale" to cover almost all epical tradition, myths, folktales, legends etc. The approaches in the article are often interesting but the conclusions are left hanging up in the air mainly because of the vagueness of the term folktale. Fischer's claims are always true or untrue, relevant or irrelevant according to the meaning we choose to give in any given instance to the term folktale. Only two of the writers make any protest, Alan Dundes, who is anxious to see some differentiation of genres on the basis of plot structure and Stith Thompson who draws attention to the fact that European scholars have at least made use of the term "legend", a practice that might be followed elsewhere. It is pleasant after this to make the acquaintance of William Bascom's article "The Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives" (1965) where Anglo-American scholars are advised to use the terms myth, folktale and legend - the common denominator to be prose

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narrative. Bascom is clearly in the right in saying that if the term folktale is allowed to cover the idea 'prose narrative' or become even wider in meaning, folkloristic deliberations in English will become immensely more difficult. New distinctions must, however, be made as scholarship advances and I look for the day when Bascom will add the term memorate, for example, to his prose narrative genres.

Even those European folklorists who have been most succesful in developing genre analysis are not without blame in this matter. We may simplify our investigation somewhat by speaking of a Scandinavian development (A. Olrik, C.W. von Sydow, G. Granberg, A. Eskeröd among others) and a western European one (J. Folkers, Fr. Ranke, A. Wesselski, W.E. Peuckert, K. Ranke, M. Lüthi, L. Röhrich for example) in genre studies. With the exception of Axel Olrik, whose term "sagn" included almost all epical tradition, Scandinavian scholars have generally remained analysers and have stressed the practical, operational value of terminology. Western European scholars have also presented a great number of terms, for the most part based on content criteria, but more recently they have concentrated on rather abstract, quasiculture-philosophical syntheses concerning the essence of different genres. This development was inspired by a curious work by the Dutch literary scientist, André Jolles called "Einfache Formen". In this work, in rather a diletante fashion, he reduces the terms Legende, Sage, Mythe, Rätsel, Spruch, Märchen, Witz, Kasus and Memorabile natural basic forms in "pre-literature". The thought of pure, independent and supracultural basic genres later fascinated many scholars. The exquisite halftruths which one finds in the generalizations achieved by those who follow this path are rather an evening's amusement for a grown-up scholar than any methodical daily diet for the writer of a dissertation.

Laurits Bødker's terminological dictionary "Folk Literature (Germanic)" which appeared four years ago presents a merciless picture of the present state of genre analysis. There are about 2000 technical terms in this dictionary, almost all of which are genre appellations. The general impression is one of chaos though I admit that this is partly to be explained by unsuccesful editorial principles. First of all, there are terms from many languages which appear, in four or five different places, with very numerous cross references. Secondly, Bødker has tried to avoid normative attitudes frequently and record only the casual manner in which scholars use terms. Technical terms having approximately the same meaning are allowed to "run wild", without restraint or limit of any kind and this has added to the number of cross references (for example: if we look up "aetiological legend" we are then advised to look up no less than 45 other words). Thirdly he includes altogether too many rare terms. The most

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questionable aspect of the work is its limitation to the Germanic language area - a scholar writing in French or Spanish cannot get a hearing even if his terminological distinctions are really worthy of note. Clearly this is not going to produce a generally valid international work of reference. Had it been differently edited, Bødker's compendium could have become a useful manual for many scientific fields for years to come. As it now stands, it is a challenge to folklorists; we need much wisdom in order to sort out and organize our terminological junk shop and select the most useful fundamental arsenal for research and also pedagogic needs.

Realistic or nominalistic systems? It is hardly possible to succeed in such a venture without fundamental checking of genre analysis. One important point is the following: Do those "genres" we speak of really exist? Do they grow naturally like flowers in a meadow or would it be more to the point to consider them as scholarly agreements, artificial aidconstructions or ideal types? From the point of view of the theory of knowledge the question is ancient: we recognize in all this the conflict between realism and nominalism which so much preoccupied medieval philosophers. Genre analysers have not allowed this to disturb them unduly and this may have given rise to a kind of flowerpicking mentality. Von Sydow himself was clearly led by the thought that genres existed objectively and only had to be discovered and named - Great Nature herself took care of the fact that there was some kind of system. It would be difficult otherwise to understand why he was not more worried by the fact that the genre categories he discovered were all jumbled together and overlapped. In an article on prose tradition categories he compared folkloristics to the natural sciences and said that the genre system meant the same for the former as the plant and animal systems for botany and zoology. He did make the reservation that in folklore one may have more hybrid forms and symbioses than in the plant world, but these, in his opinion were not so resistant as the genres-proper which maintained a separate existence. He made an evolutionary comparison: As in the animal kingdom, so in folklore, one can find development from simple types to"higher". If this was just a metaphor it was disastrous.

The scholar's impression that the genres he isolates are real and 'natural' is certainly at its strongest when he analyses material deriving from a relatively limited cultural milieu. Bronislaw Malinowski, the pioneer not only of functionalism but also of genre analysis, provides a good example in his study of the oral tradition of the Kiriwina people. He was interested in the definition of myth and also the identification of other genres in narrative tradition in order to gain an overall picture of the oral tradition of the natives. His method was very illuminating: he started with the native's own genre terminology but had to go beyond it in classify-

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ing certain stories. When he passed from a 'realistic' to a 'nominal' system, he simultaneously began to stress that the limits between subgroups are somewhat uncertain.

Genres as ideal types. Many similar examples could be presented to support my main thesis that pure genres can only exist as ideal types. The term was invented by Max Weber. It is precisely in the ideal type system that one can resolve the conflict between realism and nominalism, because even though the ideal type is the scholar's creation, with the help of it the empirical material and the theoretical system can interact beneficially. The ideal type normally arises as follows. The scholar, when going through material which illustrates a certain phenomenon, creates an "ideal picture" of that phenomenon by emphasizing a certain feature, by by-passing another and filling in the gaps. The rules to be followed in this are another matter; one may, for example, demand the selection of frequently repeated features etc. The end result is in any case constructive, no longer empirical in the same sense as the material used as a starting point. The relationship (analogy) between the ideal picture and the reality may in practice be defined separately each time. The primary function of the ideal type need not be considered the most exact description of the reality; it should rather provide the opportunity for understanding the reality better. From this point of view one determines the instrumental value of the ideal type, which is the main criterion of its usefulness.

When genres are understood as ideal types, one can take a calmer attitude to the fact that it is impossible to define myth, folktale or legend in such a way that the definition is suitable for each group of material dealt with or for each study situation. In principle the scholar can improve upon the ideal type or create new ideal types. It is true, however, that when the definition of a genre has been established, he may with reason doubt the validity of a change in definition, because in such a case the information value of his terminology declines. The scholar must therefore decide which of the following possibilities, from the point of view of his situation in scholarship, has the greatest operational value: 1) improving upon the ideal type, 2) replacing it by a new one, 3) accepting the established ideal type (though often unsatisfactory). The choice is free and the requirements of scholarliness will be met only if the scholar himself is aware of the formation criteria of the ideal types he has used and explains these to his readers.

Minimal sets of terms and the importance of term analysis. Genre analysis is valuable despite the fact that the terminology in genre study has not so far been satisfactorily sifted or systematized. This is the case because in a certain study situation only a small number of genre concepts

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are generally needed and the scholar can define or systematize as the need arises. Using genre analysis in this way the scholar has, sooner or later, to decide what is the minimal set of terms for dealing with a given tradition material satisfactorily. In my study of the Ingrian guardian-spirit beliefs I used the following minimal set: belief - memorate - fabulate - local belief legend - belief legend - entertainment legend - migratory legend - folktale - fict - metaphor - charm - prayer - description of rite. It cannot be denied, however, that the scientific value of these practical term sets is in many ways dependent upon the clarity and consistency of the general folkloristic term-battery. If we study the variety of technical terms manifested in Bødker's work it seems that we are lacking a general explanation at least as far as the practical fields of central genre concepts are concerned. This could be called term analysis and its first main function would be to determine the criteria according to which the terms have arisen. At least the following criteria should be observed: 1) contents, 2) form, 3) style, 4) structure, 5) function, 6) frequency, 7) distribution, 8) age, 9) origin, 10) bearer of tradition. Such terms as treasure-legend, ballad of chivalry and saint's legend are based on content criteria, rune and wellerism on formal criteria, mensural and priamel on stylistic criteria, refrain and refrain song/legend on structural criteria, popular proverb on frequency criteria, migratory on distribution - and sheet song on origin criteria etc. The scientist of religion requires trustworthiness criteria; here the question as to whether a story is believed in or not has been thought to be connected with function. The number of criteria is in fact of secondary importance. What is really essential is to publish, as lucidly as possible, the formation basis of technical terms. There are terms, in connection with which it is necessary to refer to two or more criteria, for example lament (form + function) and riddle song (content + structure).

Mere description of the basis of terms is not however sufficient. The relationship between the terms must also be studied. Here we may agree that any two terms are either 1) synonyms, 2) in opposition to one another, 3) more or less overlapping or 4) are on completely different levels (that is to say with no relationship). For example, the migratory legend and the local legend are in opposition, if an item is a migratory legend it cannot be a local legend. The functional terms didactic and warning legend partly overlap, but are not synonymous. The terms guardian-spirit legend, migratory legend and warning legend are on the other hand on different levels which is evident from the fact that they may be used simultaneously of one and the same legend.

The future of GA. If we were to go about things in this way it would

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perhaps be possible to make clearer the basic terminological structure in genre study. Authors of reference works and text books should not eschew normative attitudes but rather try to form economic genre systems. This is the case in spite of the fact that a real concordance, a widely based agreement between scholars as to linguistic usage may be only a utopic fancy. Or dare we hope that one day an international folkloristic language academy will be founded? There would certainly be enough for it to do; it could classify for example the most generally used basic terms, which would then be safeguarded. A group could also be formed consisting of those ultra-special terms used only infrequently by one scholar. Such an academy could give consideration to scholars' suggestions and publish recommendations etc.

Leaving our utopias on one side for the moment, let us content ourselves with the hope that individual scholars or small scholarly groups will make suggestions about the organization of terminology, even though it may be in some limited field of tradition science. Since one may get the impression from this exposé that I consider terms to be of the utmost importance, I should like finally to draw attention to the possibility of abandoning an oppressive and inadequate terminology. It is more than possible to create analysis models which are not based on genre concepts but on some kind of test questions and variables. A scholar analysing specific narrative material would not, for example, ask whether this legend is a migratory legend or a local legend, but would select some possibility from a scale indicating distribution (e.g. international / European / Scandinavian / general Finnish / provincial / found in neighbouring parishes / local etc.). Each possibility could have a code sign. The same story could be 'fed' into several different scales, always according to the point of view of which criteria information is required. The "definition" of a story would thus be a series of code signs. One could choose variable pairs and prepare an analysis model in the form of a four-fold table.

C. Scott Littleton gives an example of the variable pairs which illuminate the terms and their interdependence with the dimensions "factual-fabulous" and "secular-sacred". He makes a four-fold table which includes the following "major categories": myth, legend, folktale, secular and sacred history. Without agreeing with his conclusions, I find the method technically interesting. When we are dealing with two opposite, but overlapping concepts, the so-called "polar ideal-type" may be useful. W.J. Goode has used it in studying the relationship between magic and religion. Using the usual distinctions made by scholars as a starting point, he selected eleven polar criteria, the sums of which represented opposite

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ideal types. Neither really exists in reality. All the concrete types of behaviour fall between these two ideal types. The great number of variables here causes some difficulty; the variables should somehow be related to one another so that some sort of degree of magicality and religiosity might be applied for comparison. Althoughthe usefulness of the "polar ideal type" is questionable here, the method may be susceptible of development.

Especially when operating with extensive material, and going over to the punch card system, coding would be the most natural thing. From the point of view of genres it would be exciting to see what kind of results would be achieved by uniform analysis of a great quantity of material. It is possible that phenomena and regularity would appear, the detection of which conventional genre terminology prevents rather than promotes.

NOTE:
For more detailed discussion and references see the article Genre Analysis in Folkloristics and Comparative Religion published in TEMENOS, Studies in Comparative Religion presented by scholars in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, vol. 3, Turku 1968, pp. 48-66.

Photo 6: Lauri Honko (FL 1913/30).

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ON THE LAWS OF FOLK NARRATIVE

Alan Dundes
University of California
Berkeley, California

One of the first questions which arises in any consideration of the laws of folk narrative is, to put it bluntly, is it reasonable to speak of "laws" at all? In normal scientific parlance, a law involves a statement of a relation or sequence of phenomena invariable under the same conditions. Are there such invariable relationships and sequences demonstrable in folk narrative or not? If not, then it might be wiser to speak of principles or tendencies or even hypotheses rather than trying to ape the natural sciences by labelling nothing more than a mere premise or unproven assumption as a 'law of folk narrative.' If on the other hand there are truly identifiable, empirically observable laws of folk narrative, then why have they not hitherto been described and codified? Does the relative paucity of treatments of the topic by folktale scholars since the publication of Olrik's paper on epic laws in the first decade of the twentieth century indicate the absence of folk narrative laws or is it rather more a matter of the indifference of students of the folktale?

In discussing possible laws of folk narrative, there are a number of critical theoretical issues which cannot by bypassed. One such issue concerns universality. Are there laws of folk narrative which are universally applicable? In one sense, the use of the term law with its connotation of "invariability" would almost necessitate that universality be a sine qua non. Are Olrik's famous epic laws universal, for example? Stith Thompson suggests that despite the fact that Olrik based his findings largely on European material, his laws are "by no means confined to Europe, but with the smallest exceptions can be paralleled everywhere."[1]

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Thompson's further statement that the principles laid down by Olrik are fpr the most part obvious to any reader of folktales regardless of the kind of folktale or the part of the world concerned also seems to imply universality. However, if there are "small exceptions' or indeed any exceptions at all, then one cannot honestly claim universality. And without universality, one must either withdraw the term "law" in the strict sense when referring to a characteristic of folk narrative, or else operate on the premise that one can properly speak only of relative rather than absolute laws which apply in some cases but not in others. What about Olrik's laws? Are they all universal? Olrik himself would seem to indicate not. He notes, for example, that the law of reptition "is almost always tied to the number three," but he admits that "the entire world of folk narrative does not obey the law of three." He suggests that in India that the law of four has replaced the law of three (although the idea of replacement as well as his subsequent discussion reveals his conviction that the number three is the older law which was once operative in Indic oral narrative).[2] One wonders what Olrik would have thought of the various American Indian narrative traditions in the far western United States where the pattern number is five rather than the typical North American Indian four pattern which could presumably have been accommodated by his law of four. Does one need to add a law of five to Olrik's list of epic laws?[3] Or should the epic law be re-worded to state only that there is number patterning in all folk narrative traditions with the particular number varying from culture to culture? Inasmuch as Olrik's epic laws have not yet been tested on a worldwide basis, e.g., on aboriginal Australian narratives or African narratives, it would seem a bit premature to automatically assume that Olrik's laws are universally applicable. One simply cannot assume universality; rather one must, at the very least, attempt to validate any claim of universality by testing a worldwide sample.

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A correlative theoretical issue concerns another aspect of the 'distribution' of a potential law of folk narrative. Olrik claims that his epic laws apply to oral literature as opposed to written literature. One can point to his remark "we call these principles "laws" because they limit the freedom of composition of oral literature in a much different and more rigid way than in our written literature."[4] And repeatedly in his essay, he assumes that the absence of any one of his so-called epic laws is a sign of literary influence. But as Thompson observes, some of Olrik's laws "are also valid for all narrative art."[5] For example, the "Law of Contrast" in which one has such polarities as rich versus poor, young versus old, etc. is surely applicable to sophisticated literatures as well as folk. If this is so, and personally I have no doubt that it is, then to what extent is it appropriate to speak of the law of contrast as a 'law of folk narrative'? Are there laws of folk narrative which are materially different from the laws of narrative generally? By the same token, if Propp's fairy tale morphology can be shown to apply to the plot formulas of television, motion picture, or comic strips, then wouldn't it be a pattern of general narrative rather than purely folk narrative? Or would one then fall back on historical origin types of argument in which one insists that the pattern in question was initially a folk pattern which was only latterly borrowed by commercial and literary narrators.

A final theoretical issue concerning the range of applicability of a possible law of folk narrative has to do with genre. Olrik tends to lump all the genres of folk narrative (including song) together for purposes of identifying laws. But the possibility exists, at least in theory, that there might be laws limited to genres or subgenres rather than all of folk narrative. Levi-Strauss, for example, has proposed an algebraic formula which he suggests is applicable to every myth, a formula which is based upon his assumption that "mythical thought always

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progresses from the awareness of oppositions toward their resolution."[6] Lévi-Strauss makes no bones about his assumption of universality; hence it would be proper to speak of his formula as a possible law, but even assuming that Lévi-Strauss's law does apply to myth on a worldwide basis, does it necessarily follow that it applies equally well to folktale and legend or whatever other genres or subgenres of folk narrative one might propose? Although Lévi-Strauss's use of myth, like most anthropologists' use of the term, is somewhat vague, there is no real indication whether or not he thinks his myth formula would apply in detail to, say, catch or cumulative tales. If there are laws which apply only to genres or subgenres, then it might be inappropriate to speak of "laws of folk narrative." Instead, one should concentrate upon laws of memorates, laws of parables, etc. On the other hand, if one assumed that Lévi-Strauss's ambitious myth formula is but a particular illustration of Olrik's more general epic law of contrast, one could continue to speak of possible laws of folk narrative. It is also possible that there are both general laws applicable to all genres and particular laws applicable to particular genres.

Having briefly discussed the implications of the crucial question of the universality (as opposed to the relativity) of laws of folk narrative, we might also raise the matter of whether or not raconteurs or audiences are consciously aware of such laws or principles. I think that there is probably widespread agreement that if there are in fact laws of folk narrative, the folk are not consciously aware of them and they could articulate them with difficulty if at all. Helpful here might be the linguistic analogy if one asks whether even a professional student of language could really state with accuracy <u>all</u> the 'laws' of grammar governing, or should we say operative, in his own native language. I suggest that most if not all the laws of folk narrative, whatever they may be, work at an unconscious level. I do not mean unconscious in the

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Freudian sense of repressed which would assume that the laws were once known but were being kept out of one's conscious mind for one reason or another, but unconscious in the sense of un-self conscious. Perhaps this is one reason why the task of making unconsious laws conscious is so difficult. Fortunately, just as the human animal can speak very well without any conscious knowledge of grammatical principles, so storytellers can tell folktales and audiences can enjoy them without any conscious knowledge of the 'laws' of folk narrative. Here it might be well to remember that it is theoretically possible that there are no 'real' laws at all but rather that all the laws or attempts to delineate laws are simply fabrications, hopefully illuminating and heuristic fabrications of the folktale analyst.[7] Laws after all are abstractions, man-made abstractions. Personally, I do believe that such abstractions do tend to correspond more or less to objective reality, but I am also convinced that most of the man-made formulations claiming to describe objective reality accurately merely approach the truth, perhaps only asymptotically. Because of this, it is necessary for each generation of folklorists to work at further refining the preceding generation's tentative delineations of the laws of folk narrative.

It should be clear that most of the theoretical questions relevant to the laws of folk narrative are the same as or at least similar to the questions pertinent to a consideration of laws in social science or laws in literature generally. Nevertheless, there are some issues which are of paramount importance to the study of laws of folk narrative in particular. One of these concerns the possibility of extending the notion of laws of folk narrative beyond the rather narrow confines of form and transmission. I suspect that upon mention of the phrase 'laws of folk narrative,' most professional folklorists think immediately of Olrik's epic laws which have to do with the form or perhaps the style of folk

Narrative.

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A few others will remember that Olrik received his inspiration from Moltke Moe who also spoke of epic laws. However, Moe's laws had to do with how narratives developed through time. To avoid the confusion between these two kinds of epic laws, Berendsohn suggested the term 'lebensgesetze' for Moe's type of epic laws and the term 'stilgesetze' for Olrik's.[8] The problem is that these two types of epic laws do not exhaust the possible kinds of laws of folk narrative. I should like therefore to briefly enumerate some of the different types of folk narrative laws.

1. Laws of origin and development. Such laws would explain how a narrative or how narrative in general came about. An example would be the hypothesis that myths come from dreams or that myths come from rituals or that myths come from primitive man in a mythopoeic age attempting to describe the sun or moon's movements. Most of the 'laws' of this type are extremely speculative involving elaborate historical or pseudo-historical reconstruction. Calling such speculations laws requires at least faith, if not hope and charity!

2. Laws of form. Such laws would explain what a narrative is. They are essentially descriptive in terms of plot structure or formal rhetorical devices, e.g., Propp's morphology and the various studies of opening and closing folktale formulas.[9] Olrik's epic laws would be an example of this type.

3. Laws of transmission. These laws would concern how a tale moves from person to person and from culture to culture. An example would be the notion of "zersprechen" (cf. "zersingen") which states that tales deteriorate as they are passed from teller to teller. This devolutionary principle[10] is presumably counteracted in part by another law of transmission, a law which Walter Anderson termed the law of self correction (Gesetz der Selbstberichtigung). Other laws of transmission include the Gesetz der Umgestaltung, Umwälzung, the

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principle of peripheral distribution (or marginal survival), leveling, sharpening, and assimilation.[11]

4. Laws of use. These laws would involve the dynamics and strategy of the storytelling process itself. When does A tell which tale to B in the presence of C? Which tale does B then select from his repertoire to tell A in front of C? I have referred to these kinds of laws or principles in folklore generally (as opposed to folk narrative in particular) as "the ethnography of speaking folklore."[12] In terms of a linguistics analogy, these laws would not deal with langugge as a code (laws of form) or the origin of the code (laws of origin) hr how the code changed as it moved from people to people (laws of transmission). Rather the concern is the use of the code, e.g., when to say what to whom, when to interrupt, when to speak loudly, softly, etc. Thus to use an illustration from traditional American greetings, the point would not be to analyze the grammatical form (structure) of: 1) How do you do? and 2) How are you? but rather to determine that the first is used on the occasion of the first meeting and the first meeting only whereas the second is never used at a first meeting but is used ever after. (In terms of usage then, the two greetings appear to be in complementary distribution.) Similar laws of use would govern which punchline (where there were alternatives) one would use to a mixed male-female audience as opposed to an all male audience.

5. Laws of function. These laws would deal with the consequences and significance of the telling of a tale in terms of either the raconteur or the audience or to the culture as a whole. Malinowski's notion that myth provides a charter for belief would be an example of a possible functional law. (It used to be thought that myths tended to support or promote the stability or equilibrium of a society, but a close analysis of myth variants in various cultures has revealed that different versions of the same myth within a given culture may be related to different

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views held by different social/political factions in that society. Thus each clan or group tends to support its own image of importance vis-a-vis other groups by maintaining its version of a myth.)[13]

Under laws of function, I would include psychological principles. I consider that what I would call the law of projection, for example, is probably one of the most important of all the possible laws of folk narrative. The law is perhaps stated in terms most useful for the folklorist by Abram Kardiner who was able to add the necessary dimension of cultural relativism to the original formulation by Freud. Freud postulated a correlation between the infantile scene (with respect to parent-child relationships) and folk narrative. However, it was not always clear whether Freud thought there was a universal infantile situation or not. In any case, Kardiner went on to suggest that although Freud was correct in assuming that there is a correlation between infantile experience and cultural projective systems (such as folklore), there was considerable variation in infantile experience from culture to culture. Accordingly, the projective system, e.g., the folk narratives, would vary from culture to culture depending upon the particulars of a given infantile situation. Thus among the Alorese where babies are fed on a sporadic basis not by the mother but by older siblings or relatives or whoever happens to be around when they are hungry, one finds in the folk narratives that donor figures are frequently 'good spirits who come out of nowhere' to help.[14]

In European folklore where Freudian Oedipal psychology would apply if it applies anywhere, this might explain why male heroes in folktales overcome male giants (from an infant's point of view, adults appear to be giants) often with the help of a female donor figure while heroines escape from wicked stepmothers or overcome witches. (One thinks of A-T 328 where Jack after hiding in the giant's wife's oven (=female genital symbol) eventually cuts off the giant's stalk which kills the

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giant just as in A-T 327A, Gretel forces the witch to be burned to death in her own oven!) In this light, not to see that A-T 311's plot in which a girl is forbidden to open the door of a forbidden chamber has a sexual component is overlook one of the most important laws of folk narrative. (How can one otherwise explain why an egg or a key becomes bloody after the girl opens the door?) Similarly, not to see that A-T 570 involves a boy's keeping rabbits (sexuality) in check by means of a magic pipe which the king-father tries to take away from him, usually by sending his daughters and his wife to seduce the hero is equally unfortunate.[15] It is my view that of all the laws of folk narrative, it is those of projection--folktale does after all consist of fantasy--which are the most interesting (yet most neglected).

Admittedly one of the difficulties in analyzing the law or principle of projection stems from the literal-symbolic dichotomy. A folktale projection can be a literal reflection of a human conflict situation or it can be an inverted symbolic one. Otto Rank suggested, for example, that the male child's wish to get rid of his father (so as to have exclusive enjoyment of his mother) is expressed in mythic form by a plot in which it is the father who seeks to get rid of his son.[16] One advantage of such an inverted projection is the avoidance of guilt. The son need not feel guilt for wanting to get rid of his father inasmuch as the traditional fantasy projects the 'crime' and the responsibility for the crime upon the victim. Thus rather than feel guilt, the hero can perfectly justifiably take Oedipal style revenge and kill the father figure. Similarly, in A-T 706, The Maiden Without Hands, we find an analogous Electra complex projection. The conventional girl's wish to eliminate her mother and marry her father is expressed in the form of a projection. The mother dies (not the fault of the girl) and her father wants to marry someone just like the dead mother,

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to wit, his own daughter. However, though the daughter's incestuous wish is projected to the father, it is noteworthy that it is the daughter who is punished by having her hands cut off (Is it because the hands are used in initiating masturbatory fantasy?). The same principle of projection is found in modern legends, e.g., white reports that Negroes have castrated a young white boy in a public toilet/bathroom is most probably a projection of the whites' own wish to castrate what they regard as the super-phallic Negro male. But rather than admit this and accept the guilt, the wish is projected to the victim and this makes it possible to blame the Negro victim. Thus through projection, the wisher can punish in fantasy not himself but the victim of his aggression. It is the evil parent (king, giant) who is guilty, not the child.

The difficulty in investigating projection in folk narrative comes in trying to ascertain whether a plot involves a literal statement or an inverted symbolic one. Levi-Strauss's succinct statement of the problem suggests that psychological interpretation becomes too easy insofar as if there are myths about evil grandmothers, then it can be claimed either that there are really evil grandmothers in the society and the myths literally reflect this fact or that the myth is simply providing a projective outlet for repressed feelings about grandmothers. "Whatever the situation, a clever dialectic will always find a way to pretend that a meaning has been found."[17] However, the fact that it may be difficult to distinguish literal and symbolic elements in folk narrative is no reason to ignore the problem. If this is a legitimate area for folklorists to probe for 'laws,' then the problem must be considered.

The history of folktale scholarship reveals quite clearly a superorganic bias, a tendency to treat the folktale as though it were governed by a set of laws independent of man. Thus tales move by

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themselves
[redacted] (via automigration) and subtypes are mysteriously formed from urforms all by themselves. Such notions reflect the sad fact that folklorists have divorced the lore from the folk. It is almost as if folktale scholars prided themselves on how effectively they could dehumanize their data. Whether one divides a tale into motifs or historic-geographic traits, the tale with its essential human fantasy is kept as far as possible from basic human concerns. So it is that the bulk of the work on the laws of folk narrative have been concerned with such safe removed areas as form and transmission. The obsession with text and the ignoring of context continues. What little debate there is more often concerns classification than meaning. Even the supposed progressive shift from diachronic historic-geographic studies to synchronic structural studies represents little improvement. (One should realize that it is possible to attempt structural analyses on texts alone without regard to contexts---it is still [redacted] analyzing lore without reference to folk!) This is why I feel that the laws of folk narrative cannot be meaningful unless the notion of such laws is broadened to include more than laws of form and transmission. Even if the 'laws' eventually turn out not to be laws, but only culturally relative principles, the necessity for investigating the relationships between lore and folk remains critical. Without such investigations, the study of folk narrative can never be more than an antiquarian pastime. With such investigations, the study of folk narrative could become one of the most vital areas of human research.

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Notes

1 Stith Thompson, The Folktale (New York, 1951), p. 456.

2 Axel Olrik, "Epic Laws of Folk Narrative," in The Study of Folklore, ed. Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs, 1965), p. 133-134.

3 For one discussion of five symbolism/patterning, see Melville Jacobs, The Content and Style of an Oral Literature (Chicago, 1959), pp. 224-228.

4 Olrik, p. 131.

5 Thompson, p. 457.

6 Claude Lévi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology (New York, 1967), p. 225.

7 For a further discussion of this philosphical point, see Alan Dundes, The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales, FFC 195 (Helsinki, 1964), pp. 56-57.

8 I am indebted to the useful survey of the issue by Laurits Bødker in his Folk Literature (Germanic), International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore, Vol. II (Copenhagen, 1965), pp. 84-85.

9 For Propp's scheme, see Vladimir Propp, Morphology of the Folktale, 2nd edition (Austin, Texas, 1968). For representative discussions of formulas, see R. Petsch, Formelhafte Schlüsse im Volksmärchen (Berlin, 1900), Wilhelm Giese, "Zur morphologie der märchen der Romanen," in Miscelanea Filologica dedicada a D. Antonio M.ª Alcover (Palma de Mallorca, 1929), pp. 1-43, and Juan Amades, "Morfologia del Cuento Folklorico Hispanico," Folklore Americas, XVI (1956), 13-31.

10 For a discussion of the adverse effects of devolutionary principles in folklore, see Alan Dundes, "The Devolutionary Premise in Folklore Theory," Journal of the Folklore Institute, VI (1969), 53-67.

11 For discussions of these various laws of transmission, see Bødker, op.cit., Dundes, The Study of Folklore, pp. 245-247, and especially, Gyula Ortutay, "Principles of Oral Transmission in Folk Culture," Acta Ethnographica, VIII (1959), 175-221.

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12 E. Ojo Arewa and Alan Dundes, "Proverbs and the Ethnography of Speaking Folklore," American Anthropologist, LXVI, no. 6, part 2 (1964), 70-85.

13 Robert A. Georges, ed., Studies on Mythology (Homewood, Illinois, 1968), pp. 186, 227-228, discusses this point at some length.

14 Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society (New York, 1945), p. 167.

15 In a North Carolina version found on the Library of Congress recording of the Jack Tales (AAFS L47, Side A), the magic implement is a seed drill (used to plant seed)! The essence of the tale is for a boy to prove himself by keeping control over his magic tool (phallus) and by so doing defeat the king-father. If the boy lost control over the rabbits by yielding his magic tool, he would not be able to get married!

16 Otto Rank, The Myth of the Birth of the Hero (New York, 1959), p. 72.

17 Lévi-Strauss, p. 203. Curiously enough, Levi-Staruss's own structural analysis runs afoul of the evil grandmother paradox. In discussing the correspondence between the unconscious meaning of myth (the problem myth tries to solve) and its conscious content (the plot), Levi-Strauss claims that the correspondence can be either a mirror-image or a transformation with the transformation sometimes being"an inverted image of the social pattern" (my italics). See Lévi-Strauss, "Four Winnebago Myths: A Structural Sketch," in Myth and Cosmos, ed. John Middleton (Garden City, 1967), p. 20. This in turn is reminiscent of Propp's explanation of why the donor sequence can occasionally precede villainy rather than follow it. Such an arrangement, explains Propp, does not 'break the rule' bur rather is an inverted sequence. Most probably there is a 'law of inversion' which can be combined with the law of projection as well as other laws of folk narrative. See Propp, op. cit., p. 106.

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E.V.Pomerantzeva

LES IMAGES DE LA MYTHOLOGIE INFERIEURE DANS LE CONTE RUSSE DE MOEURS.

Il est nécessaire de prendre en considération les croyances populaires dans l'analyse de maintes images et de sujets de folklore, dans l'étude des sources d'un nombre de genres, en particulier dans la caractéristique de la prose orale. Les croyances populaires se sont reflétées d'une manière différente non seulement dans les genres folkloriques, selon la destination et la fonction de ces derniers (proverbe, formule magique, chant de cérémonie, conte, légende etc.), mais aussi dans la prose russe orale (memorate, fabulate, tradition orale, conte). Ses images mythologiques, issues de la même source - croyance populaire, différent profondément pourtant au point de vue de leur qualité. Aussi se distinguent-elles par leur qualité et leur fonction dans de différents genres de conte - conte bleu (de fée), de légende et de moeurs.

L'opinion courante prétend que pour la tradition russe de conte, contrairement au folklore de beaucoup d'autres peuples, il serait caractéristique que dans les contes les personnages des croyances populaires ne figurent pas c.à d. les images de la prose autre que le conte: petites légendes, histoires véritables. En réalité ce n'est pas toujours vrai.

En effet, la prose russe se divise en deux types principaux, fort différents par leur système des images, le choix de leurs sujets, le caractère de leurs procédés figuratifs et surtout par leur orientation vers la fiction poétique, le fantastique sincère, ou bien vers l'authenticité de la narration basée sur des faits. Malgré cela, pourtant, non seulement que nous dévoilons sans peine les anciennes racines mythologiques des images

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et des sujets de conte d'usage courant à notre époque, non seulement que nous voyons par ailleurs utiliser dans la prose autre que le conte beaucoup de situations et de procédés de conte, mais nous observons aussi la transformation habituelle de petites légendes et d'histoires véridiques en conte, de même que la pénétration dans le conte des éléments des croyances de peuple, en particulier, la présence parmi ses personnages des images de la démologie populaire. Le lien du domaine de la soi-disante mythologie inférieure, c.à d. de petites légendes et d'histoires véridiques avec d'autres genres du folklore est bien varié. Par exemple, l'image du Domovoï (génie familier de la maison), malgré son extrême popularité, ne franchit pas les limites de la prose autre que de conte; l'ondine figure dans les chants de cérémonie et dans quelques contes bleus, où son image est inspirée par la littérature, particulièrement par le conte d'Andersen et l'ondin (génie des eaux) se rencontre dans de sujets bien archaïques de contes bleus, le plus souvent dans AT313 et aussi dans le chant épique de Sadko.

Ce qui concerne le conte de moeurs qui est le plus éloigné du récit mythologique d'après la nature de son genre, nous y rencontrons aussi des images démoniques, notamment le sylvain et l'esprit malin (le diable). Tout en restant au fond une seule image dans le conte de moeurs et, de même que dans la langue populaire, ils remplacent sans peine l'un l'autre.

Si justement ces deux personnages mythologiques sont entrés dans le système des images du conte de moeurs, c'est que dans les récits superstitieux aussi ils figurent non seulement comme des maitres des éléments, comme l'incarnation de forces terribles d'outre-tombe, ennemies de l'homme, mais encore comme des

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joueurs de tours, lutins, badins, triksters.

Ce n'est pas par hasard que dans beaucoup de petites légendes et des histoires légendaires on souligne, si on peut le dire, le caractère "humain" de son image: "Je suis le même homme que tout le monde", dit le sylvain dans un des récits parlant du ciel: seulement je ne porte pas de croix, ma mère m'a maudit."[1] Non sans raison le sylvain mange la bouillie (kacha) avec des bergers, obtient d'eux un morceau de pain, il joue aux cartes, il a une femme, des enfants, un ménage, il va en tarantass (voiture), porte un zipoune (Vêtement de paysan) et un bonnet, fait la chasse etc. On a assez de récits sur l'entente de l'homme avec le sylvain: d'accord avec le berger il fait paître son bétail, paie un service par un service, fait sortir, par exemple, de la forêt une vieille égarée, aide un garçon à échapper au recrutement, marie la fille d'un bailli à un tailleur qui lui a cousu une couverture et un touloupe (Pelisse).

On peut se sauver du sylvain, le faire rire. Le trait principal du sylvain qui se répète dans les petites légendes les plus variées - sont ses éclats de rire.

Beaucoup de récits, où figure le sylvain, sans perdre leur orientation dominante vers la vérité de la narration, sont au fond des récits des aventures ridicules, amusantes par leur nature même.

L'image du démon est extrêmement variée dans le folklore oral, pourtant lui aussi, comme le sylvain, il y figure souvent comme un joueur de tours humain; il est doué de maintes fai-

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[1] D.K.Zélénine. Précis de la mythologie russe, p.24.

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blesses purement humaines: les démons aiment aller en visite, faire la noce, célébrer tapageusement les mariages, ils dansent avec entrain, ils sont des joueurs passionnés de cartes, ils ont un penchant pour de méchants tours, des polissonneries, ils séduisent des femmes, volent des enfants.

Justement une telle hypostase du sylvain et de l'esprit malin, l'hypostase du trikster, a pour résultat que ces personnages, sans changer radicalement, pénètrent sans peine dans le conte de moeurs et l'anecdote. On peut même dire davantage - beaucoup de récits de sylvain et du démon sont, pour ainsi dire sur la limite des deux genres de la prose, couvant en soi une étincelle de la foi dans la réalité du personnage et en même temps un rapport prosaïque pour des fables sur lui. En tout cas il n'y a plus ce "tremendum", cette peur devant le monde d'outre-tombe, l'horreur devant ses mystères qui caractérise un récit superstitieux proprement dit.

Telles sont, par exemple, les petites légendes (peut être parodies de légende) enregistrées le dernier temps. "Un sylvain court et voit une chèvre qui gambade dans un potager. Il dit à un autre: Chasse-la, autrement on va dire - c'est le sylvain qui l'a fait entrer. Et ce n'est pas ma faute"[1]. Ou bien, voilà un encore plus décidé: "Un paysan s'est égaré dans la forêt. Il rencontre l'esprit malin lui-même (c.à d. le sylvain ou le démon). Il a eu peur: "Maintenant il va me mystifier"[2]. Mais le malin le tranquilise qu'il ne s'occupe plus de cela, car il est devenu aussi un être raisonnable.

Ainsi, introduits dans un conte de moeurs ou une anecdote,

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[1] Archive MGK Occ.1966 N.174.

[2] Ibidem Occ.1966 N.132.

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ces personnages n'ont qu'à faire un petit pas pour entrer dans un système d'images, en principe tout autre. Il est très important que les sujets où l'on introduit les images du démon et du sylvain ne sont pas accidentels, mais ils trouvent leurs analogies typologiques dans la prose autre que le conte.

Je fais une réserve que la plupart des contes qui entrent dans le cycle des contes désignés par Aarne comme contes sur le démon sot, dans le folklore russe sont privés de démon, dans le rôle duquel figure le plus souvent un ouvrier rusé et adroit qui dupe son adversaire. Il s'agit quand même du démon ou du sy sylvain, alors dans le conte il n'emporte jamais la victoire sur l'homme et représente effectivement un "démon sot".

Quels sont donc les sujets des contes de moeurs (je laisse de côté les contes bleus (de fées) et les légendaires, où le démon joue aussi un rôle important, comme, par exemple, N.518, 617, 810, 812, 815-825 et d'autres) dans lesquels figure le démon ou le sylvain. C'est le conte "Le partage de la moisson" AT1030, le conte - "La femme est pire que le démon", où le malin cherche à quereller les époux (AT1165), celui, où le démon monte la garde (AT1166), celui où le malin entre en émulation avec un ouvrier ("Balda" AT1045), celui où le malin (le sylvain) dispute avec un paysan: qui d'entre eux va monter un animal le plus extraordinaire (AT N.1091), celui où le sylvain (démon) s'est pincé la main, le conte "Moi-même" (AT1136), le conte où une femme rebelle se trouve dans une fosse chez les démons (AT1164). Un soldat enseigne aux démons la science militaire (AT1166). Je voudrais y ajouter encore le conte, où le soldat a volé sur un sylvain à Pétersbourg et deux contes des ouvriers: d'un démon et un forgeron et d'un démon et un marteleur, dans lesquels le malin devient un personnage d'une satire sociale

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mordante.

Nous voyons que la situation principale de tous ces contes se rencontre aussi dans de petites légendes - l'émulation avec l'homme, un contrat, une ruse, une tromperie. Pourtant, avec o l'analogie des personnages et de la situation, même de la "fable", le dessous est différent. Si dans la petite légende on réussit de berner le démon ou le sylvain, le faire rire, le signer ou le tuer par un seul bouton, alors cela se conçoit par le conteur et ses auditeurs comme une délivrance miraculeuse d'un danger redoutable, comme une violation de la conformité à la loi. Le sylvain et le démon dans la prose, tout autre que le conte, n'est nullement le démon du conte qui supporte des coups, prend pour un animal extraordinaire une femme rampante à quatre pattes, tombe dans le piège au partage etc. Dans une petite légende le démon et le sylvain, même dans un plan réduit d'être presqu'un homme, héros d'une aventure comique, sont une force redoutable, un danger dont on peut se délivrer, mais c'est difficile pour un homme faible.

Mais dans le conte le démon et le sylvain sont toujours plus faibles, plus sots qu'un homme ingénieux, sage et adroit.

Cette tendance commune à tous les contes russes, d'un démon sot se révèle avec une évidence particulière dans les contes enregistrés chez des ouvriers. Dans un de ces contes le démon montre au forgeron l'enfer et celui-ci passe indifférent devant toutes les tortures de l'enfer, tandis que le démon s'enfuit épouvanté de l'usine, sans se retourner. "Où vas-tu, démon? Ce n'est pas encore tout, regarde au moins comment le propriétaire va sévir contre nous", lui crie le forgeron: Apprends à traiter les pêcheurs dans l'enfer."[1]

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[1] E.M.Blinova. "Légendes mystérieuses des ouvriers d'Oural". M. 1941, N.16.

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Dans un autre conte le démon dispute avec un marteleur et d'après ses tâches donnés il fait une vieille jeune et un cabaretier - mendiant, mais il ne peut pas accomplir la troisième tâche - faire un homme d'un usinier: "L'esprit malin devint tout triste, se mit à geindre, à courir. Il tournait longtemps autour de la maison du maître, il a essayé tous ses tours diaboliques - rien n'a réussi. Il revint chez le contre-maître sa queue pendue. "Non, dit-il, - je ferai tout ce que tu veux, mais je ne peux pas faire un homme de votre maître"[1]. Alors, si dans les petites légendes et les histoires véridiques le conteur et ses auditeurs sont sous l'empire de leurs représentations superstitieuses et la lutte de l'homme avec le démon porte dans la narration un caractère sérieux, mais dans le conte cette lutte est donnée dans un plan comique, quand l'homme triomphe sa victoire sur le démon sot, ou bien l'image du démon est utilisée d'une manière allégorique, dans le plan de la création d'une satire sociale.

Les récits dans lesquels le démon ou le sylvain sont des êtres véritables, dans l'existence desquels on croit, c.à d. "la vérité" à propos du démon et elle est effroyable, mais l'invention poétique sur le démon et le sylvain prouve la liberté intérieure de l'homme. Si même le reste de la foi scintille dans ces contes, cela donne plus d'esprit au récit. Donc, quand la situation est analogue, quand les héros sont les mêmes la tendance principale du type de la narration montre ou bien des entraves de la conscience humaine par des préjugés, ce qui se révèle dans la petite légende, ou bien c'est la liberté de l'esprit humain, de l'invention poétique qui se manifeste dans le conte.

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[1] Ibid. N.17

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Ce n'est pas par hasard que dans les enregistrements modernes les petites légendes et les histoires véridiques marquent une tendance bien prononcée de la transformation en conte, en schwank, en anecdote.

Photo 7, 8: The accompanying international book exhibition (FL 1913, reg. 44377, 44379).

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Barış ÇAKMUR – PhD, lecturer at the department of Political Science and Public Administration, Middle East Technical University, Ankara; researcher at Humboldt University, Berlin (2015-2016). Has published articles about media, politics and political economy of cultural production, and is contributor to *Siyaset Bilimi: Kavramlar İdeolojiler Disiplinler Arası İlişkiler* [Political Science: Concepts, Ideologies and Interdisciplinary Relations] (Istanbul, 2012), and *Yurttaşlık Tartışmaları: Yeni Yaklaşımlar* [Citizenship Discussions: New Approaches] (Ankara, 2010). Email: cakmur@metu.edu.tr.

Courtney M. DORROLL – the Assistant Professor of Middle Eastern and North African Studies at Wofford College in Spartanburg, South Carolina. She worked on this project while a PhD student at the University of Arizona's School of Middle Eastern and North African Studies and was mentored by her dissertation committee members Drs. Leila Hudson, Amy Newhall, Linda Darling and Aomar Boum. Her research and language training was sponsored by the US State Department's Critical Language scholarship, the Foreign Language and Area Studies scholarship, the Jacob K. Javits Fellowship, and the University of Arizona's Confluence Center for Creative Inquiry. Email: dorrollcm@wofford.edu.

Sabina ISPAS – folklorist, senior researcher and director (since 1997) of the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of the Romanian Academy (Bucharest). Topics of interest: fieldwork methodology, archiving, typology, genre theory, apocryphal literature, popular books, folklore and religion, folklore and history. Books: *Lirica de dragoste. Index motivic şi tipologic* [Typology of Folk Love Lyrics], I-IV, Bucureşti, 1985-1989, "Colecţia Naţională de Folclor" [National Folk Collection] – in cooperation; *„Flori dalbe de măr". Din poezia obiceiurilor de iarnă* ["White Apple-Tree Flowers": Christmas-Carol Poems], Bucureşti, 1987; *Cântecul epic-eroic românesc în context sud-est european. "Cântecele peţirii"* [The Romanian Heroic Epos in South-East European Context: "The Songs of Wooing"], Bucureşti, 1995; *Sub aripa cerului* [Under the Wing of Heaven]: Sabina Ispas, *Comentarii etnologice asupra colindei şi colindatului. Constantin Brăiloiu, Colinde şi cântece de stea*, anthology by Sabina Ispas, Mihaela Şerbănescu, Otilia Pop-Miculi, Bucureşti, 1998; *Omul Românesc* [The Romanian Man], edited by Sabina Ispas and Emanuel Pârvu, Bucureşti, 2000; *Povestea cântată. Studii de etnografie şi folclor* [The Sung Story: Studies in Ethnography and Folklore], Bucureşti, 2001; *Cultură orală şi informaţie transculturală* [Oral Culture and Transcultural Information], Bucureşti, 2003; *Siminoc şi Busuioc. Basme româneşti* [Siminoc and Busuioc: Romanian Fairytales], Bucureşti, 2005; *Preminte Solomon. Legenda populară românească*

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Pál KOUDELA – PhD, Research Fellow at Eötvös Lóránd University, Department of Social Sciences, (PMK) Budapest, Hungary, and Professor at Kodolányi János University, Székesfehérvár, Hungary. His research interest is focused on the understanding the role of folkloristic traditions in contemporary social processes such as the influence of religion and music on social integration (e.g. of immigrant population or after national traumas). Postal address: Deák Ferenc u. 50, Törökbálint, 2045, Hungary; phone: +36 30 3272192. Email: pkoudela@yahoo.com.

Marin MARIAN-BĂLAŞA – PhD in Philosophy, ethnomusicologist, ethnologist, and writer, works as a senior researcher with the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore in Bucharest. Author of eleven interdisciplinary volumes and of numerous academic and multicultural essays and papers. Has done research work in many countries (both urban and countryside fieldwork in Europe, USA, Middle- and Far-East). He founded the international journal "European Meetings in Ethnomusicology" (http://eme.ong.ro), currently editing the new, international series of the (ISI/Thomson-Reuters acknowledged) "Revista de etnografie şi Folclor/Journal of Ethnography and Folklore". Email: mmbalasa@yahoo.com.

Essica MARKS – head of the literature, art and music department at Zefat Academic College in the Galilee and a fellow Researcher at the Jewish Research Music Center based in the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Her topics of research include the liturgy of Jerusalem-Sephardi tradition, the liturgy of the Sephardi-Portuguese tradition, Eastern Jewish paraliturgical traditions, history and theory of Arab music, and Arab Music in Israel. Her publications include a monograph, articles and audio recordings on Sephardi liturgical and paraliturgical music, the representation of Arab music in Israel, the influence of Arab music on the liturgy of Jerusalem Sephardi Style, and Sephardi-Portuguese musical tradition. Email: essica@el-rom.org.il.

Wolfgang MIEDER – joined the faculty of the University of Vermont after having earned his Ph.D. degree from Michigan State University in 1970. From 1977 to 2008 he was chairperson of the Department of German and Russian. In 1980 he was named University Scholar, and in 1987 he received the Outstanding Faculty Award. He also obtained the Certificate of Merit by the American Association of Teachers of German in 1995 and was recognized in the same year with an Award for Excellence in Teaching. In 1997 he was honored with the Giuseppe Pitrè International Folklore Prize, and the European Fairy Tale Prize as well as the Lifetime Scholarly Achievement Award from the American Folklore Society followed in 2012. He was named University Distinguished Professor of German and Folklore in May of 2013, and he was recognized with a "doctor honoris causa"

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from the University of Athens in 2014 and from the University of Bucharest in 2015. While his scholarship ranges from fairy tales, legends, and folk songs to philological and literary studies, his expertise lies above all in international paremiology, i.e., the study of proverbs. Many of his publications deal with the use and function of proverbs in literature, the mass media, art, politics, advertising, etc. His numerous publications have appeared in the United States and several European countries. He is also the founding editor of *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* (1984ff.). Address: Department of German and Russian, 422 Waterman Building, University of Vermont, 85 South Prospect Street, Burlington, Vermont 05405, USA. Email: Wolfgang.Mieder@uvm.edu.

Răzvan THEODORESCU – né le 22 mai 1939 à Bucarest, historien de la culture et historien de l'art, membre de l'Academie Roumaine et, depuis 2013, président de la Section d'Arts, Architecture et Audio-Visuel de l'Academie. En 1972 il défend sa thèse de docteur ès sciences historiques (*Eléments culturels byzantins, balkaniques et occidentaux aux débuts de la culture roumaine médiévale dans les siècles X^e–XIV^e*). Il commence sa carrière scientifique en 1963, à l'Institut de l'Histoire de l'Arts, en tant que chercheur scientifique, et puis devient directeur adjoint scientifique. En 1987 il devient conférencier associé à l'Institut des Arts Plastiques «N.Grigorescu» (devenu plus tard l'Université des Beaux Arts de Bucarest), où, en 1990, il est professeur titulaire, enseignant l'histoire de l'art européenne médiévale, la typologie de l'art de l'Orient chrétien et l'histoire de la civilisation européenne. De 1990 à 1992 il est le président de la Radiotélévision Roumaine; de 1992 à 2000: membre du Conseil National de l'Audiovisuel. Pendant 2004 et 2004 il est sénateur de Iassy et ministre de la Culture et des Cultes, et pendant 2004-2008, sénateur de Botoşani. Il fut professeur invité au Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale de l'Université de Poitiers et recteur de l'Université Media, ainsi que le responsable de la première Chaire UNESCO d'études du Sud-Est européen. Il s'est concentré dès le début sur l'étude de l'art roumain ancien et de l'art médiéval sud-est européen, ainsi que sur l'analyse des quelques chapitres moins connus de l'ancienne civilisation roumaine et balkaniques, des domaines dans lesquels il a fait une série de découvertes et sur lesquels il a créé des thèses scientifiques importants, repris aussi par la littérature spécialisée (voir «les corridors culturels», la typologie «des hommes nouveaux» en tant que créateurs, le *monumentum princeps* et les origines de l'art sud-est européen au Moyen Age, la mentalité transactionnelle et la première modernité des Roumains: *La monastère Dragomirna* (1965); *La monastère Bistriţa* (1966); *L'église Stavropoleos* (1967); *Byzance, Balkans, Occident aux origines de la culture roumaine médiévale (les siècles X-XIV)* (1974), ouvrage qui obtint le prix «Nicolae Bălcescu» de l'Académie Roumaine; *Un millénaire d'art au Bas Danube 400–1400* (1976); *La pierre des Trois Hiérarques* (1979); *Itinéraires médiévales* (1979); *L'histoire vue de près* (1980); *La civilisation des roumains du Moyen Age au temps modernes. L'horizon de l'image (1550–1800)* (2 vol., 1987); *Chemins vers le passé* (1992); *Les 900 jours de la «Manipulation»"* (1994); *La peinture murale moldave*

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Şahru PİLTEN UFUK – assistant professor of Turkish Language in the Sakarya University, Turkey. She studied Turkish Language and Literature (BA-1998) and Modern Turkish Dialects and Literatures (MA-2001 and PhD-2008) in the Faculty of Languages History and Geography of the Ankara University. The doctoral research, *Synonymy in Turkish Language* led to her PhD. She worked as visiting scholar in the Department of Linguistic at the Columbia University (Missouri, 2011-2012). Her area of scientific interest include sociolinguistics and semantics of modern and historical Turkic dialects. Email: sspilten@gmail.com.

Bogdan-Vlad VĂTAVU – PhD student at "Babeş-Bolyai" University in Cluj-Napoca, he elaborates a thesis on the social history of banditry in early modern Wallachia and Moldavia. Has published several essays on this topic in Romanian journals and volumes. Besides banditry, his interests cover areas such as archeology, sociology, and social history. From 2012 is a contributor at www.ligaoamenilordecultura bontideni.blogspot.ro where occasionally writes blogposts on various social and cultural matters. Email: vatavu_bogdan@yahoo.com.

Jinil YOO – Lecturer at the Hungarian Department with the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul, Korea. He studied at Hankook University of Foreign Studies and Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, and earned his PhD degree in literary science in 2002. Worked in Korean Association of Central & Eastern European and Balkan Studies. His research interest is focused on Korean, Hungarian and comparative literature, culture, music and folklore. Postal address: Sinan apt. 204dong-403ho, Munhyeon-ro 326, Mohyeon-myeon, Cheoin-gu, Yongin-si, Gyeonggi-do, 449-856 Rep. of Korea. Phone number: +82 10 2734 4893. Email: yoojinil2002@hanmail.net.

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